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Without Concealment—Without Compromise.

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PRO-SLAVERY RETREAT.

From the Message of Gov. Bagby, of Alabama.

Domestic Slavery.

The disposition unhappily manifested in so many quarters, and in such a variety of shapes, to interfere with the question of domestic slavery in those States where it exists under the sanction of the Constitution, and which to my mind, has so clearly assumed a political aspect, and to threaten the stability of the Government, by putting in the most imminent peril the safety of the Southern people, renders it an imperious duty to bring the subject to the notice of the Legislature.

It will not be expected, in a communication of this kind, that I should enter upon a defence of slavery, either practically, as it exists in this country, or as a question of abstract moral right. Although it is believed, notwithstanding the depraved and morbid sensibility manifested upon the subject, that the truth of the following propositions is clearly demonstrable—that negroes in the slaveholding States of this Union enjoy the necessaries of life, in greater abundance than the laboring poor, or those who have to labor for subsistence, in any country under the sun; and that they have fewer cares, fanaticism itself will admit. Second: That if they were emancipated, it would make their condition worse instead of better. Third: Slavery will always exist, as it always has existed in every age and country, under every form of government and modification of human society, in some form, and that that class are better adapted to the condition of servitude than any other. Fourth: Experience has already proven, that all attempts at colonization in the country whence they originally came, are futile and hopeless. Fifth: If the American slaves could be colonized, they would descend to the condition of the natives, instead of imparting the benefit of their limited information and civilization to them. Sixth: That slavery existed from the earliest generations after the deluge, if not with the express sanction of the Divine will, without any prohibition; and that the inspired apostles fully recognized it, as an institution sanctioned by the Almighty himself. Seventh: There is not a country in Europe in which servitude does not exist, in a more oppressive and degrading form, than the system of slavery in the United States. If these propositions are true, what modern teacher of morality is entitled to the discovery that slavery is a great moral evil, the weight of which is sinking the character of this country below the standard maintained by the Goths and Vandals! Was it the great and eminent men who framed the Constitution, and who were at least as pious, as humane and intelligent, as these Abolition harpies, who are laboring to subvert an institution as old as society itself, and which, notwithstanding all their efforts, will be co-existent with it!

The framers of the Consitution expressly recognized the existence of slavery, by including slaves in the ratio of representation; viewing them as they are, and as they must continue to be, while the principles of the Constitution endure, in the mixed light of persons and property. If it be within the decrees of Omnipotence, that the distinctions of rank and color are to vanish and to be done away, and the servant is to be free from his master, it will only be when the institutions of human society shall give place to that state of things, in the ordering out of which human agency can have no control, and which can neither be accelerated nor postponed by human exertions. Slavery in some form will always exist. It is one of the incidents of society, a melancholy one it you please, but it has existed from the foundation of the world, and exist it will till time shall be no more.

But while we insist upon our rights, we should never be insensible to our duties, as masters. The relation of master and servant is one of vast importance both in a moral and political point of view—more important, perhaps, than any which now exist. The other social relations are viewed in the same light by all civilized nations; nor is it easy to conceive of any cause likely to disturb them. With the relation of master and servant, this, unhappily is not the case. Let us then, from an exalted sense of what is due to ourselves, and from a sacred regard to humanity and justice, so fulfil this relation as to put those, who are disposed officiously to interfere with our rights, to shame; and to prove ourselves worthy of the superior position in the scale of being, in which it has pleased Divine Providence to place us. I feel no assurance, however, that the most righteous course on our part will ensure our future tranquility upon this subject—indeed, from present indications I am strongly inclined to think that it will not. A fervent attachment to the union of the States, and an ardent desire that that union might be perpetuated, has rendered me averse to the agitation of any question that would be likely to weaken the bonds which unite us as one people. There is, however, a point in public, as well as private affairs, beyond which forbearance ceases to be a virtue. And when we see regularly organized societies for the avowed purpose of abolishing slavery, infesting considerable portions of our country, disseminating their pestilential doctrines in every direction—when we see American citizens, unmindful of all the obligations that ought to bind them to their country, confederating with foreigners for the purpose of disturbing rights secured to us by a compact to which the States of the union are parties—when we see the halls of Congress flooded session after session with petitions asserting the right of Congress to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, (no doubt with a view of extending the same principles to the States,) and to inhibit the traffic in slaves between the States, and importuning them to exert it—when we see the question of abolition made a test for the highest offices in many of the States—when we see State legislatures in their highest representative capacity, adopting resolutions denouncing slavery as a political evil, and one that ought to be abolished—when we behold the Legislature of one State enacting laws giving to runaway slaves the right of trial by jury to decide upon the question of property in said slave, and the trial to take place in the community where slavery is daily denounced as a curse, and slaveholders as monsters and tyrants; and the Governor of another State refusing to surrender persons charged with stealing slaves when demanded by the proper authority—when we see the two branches of the Legislature of one of the oldest States in the Union, pass a bill through both houses of the General Assembly, legalizing marriage between negroes and white people, and the country only saved from the disgrace of such a measure by the veto of the Governor—when we behold, in various quarters of the Union, the professors of a pure and holy religion, and the pretended disciples of its divine and immaculate Author, declaring that slavery is a sin, which admits neither of extenuation nor excuse, and throwing their exertions into the stream that threatens to overwhelm us, by inciting our slaves to acts of rebellion, insurrection and murder; it is time to awake from the state of fancied security in which we have hitherto reposed.

Neither are the exertions making in other countries calculated to allay our apprehensions upon the subject. Within the present year a convention, at which some Americans, unworthy of the name, were present as members, was holden in the metropolis of the British Empire, the object of which was the abolition of negro slavery throughout the world. And the proceedings of this foreign convention, aiming a fatal blow at the rights and safety of one entire section of the United States, have been heralded through the public mail under the official frank of the representatives of a portion of the people of the United States. Perhaps it is not so remarkable that religious fanatics and political zealots in England, shuddering at the recollection of the horrors of the African slave trade, which combined in its practice the dreadful crimes of kidnapping, piracy and murder, and in which the Dutch and English were the first, and beyond all comparison the greatest offenders, should be anxious to expiate their own sins by attempting to disturb the relation of master and slave in other countries; but it is greatly to be regretted that any portion of the people of this country should be so much under the influence of their ancient tyrannical masters as to have fallen into the same unhappy delusion.

It is possible, that Southern statesmen, fired with just indignation at the repeated efforts of Northern and Eastern members of Congress to interfere with rights secured to them by the constitution of the common country, may have erred in refusing to receive petitions upon the subject of abolishing slavery. It may be possible that this subject is embraced within the comprehensive principle of the inalienable right of petition. If so, that right should be maintained inviolate. The petitions should be received, referred to a committee of abolitionists, who seem to set themselves up as the peculiar guardians of humanity and justice, with instructions to report their views, in order that we may be fully apprized of the extent of their designs. If, on the other hand, this subject does not fall within the scope of the right of petition, it ought to be made felony by a law of the United States to present them. For if the right to present such petitions be not an inalienable one, it is impossible to conceive of any act fraught with more dreadful consequences, or the perpetration of which would justly merit more highly penal enactments to suppress. My own opinion is that the only way in which the question could be presented as a debatable one, would be a proposition to amend the Constitution in this respect.

In view of the dangers impending over us, I respectfully suggest to the General Assembly the indispensable necessity of presenting to the other States of this Union, and to the world, the views we entertain upon this subject, and which we intend to insist upon in every emergency, and are resolved to maintain at every hazard. I also recommend the adoption of the most effectual measures for suppressing unlawful assemblages of negroes, and the circulation of incendiary publications and speeches among them, and a careful revision and improvement of the patrol laws. It is also believed to be a matter of imperious necessity, and therefore respectfully recommended, to hold a convention of the slaveholding States, at such time and place as may be deemed most advisable, in order that we may be enabled, upon full consultation with those whose rights stand upon the same footing with our own, to adopt the most effectual measures for our mutual happiness and safety. It is perfectly idle for us, no matter what may be the depth and the sincerity of our attachment to that instrument, to be clinging to the forms of the Constitution, while its substance is daily yielding to the rude tide of innovation and fanaticism, which is constantly ashing against it. And if, contrary to all the pleasing anticipations of the past, that instrument shall fail to secure to us the great essential objects contemplated by its illustrious founders, it becomes our duty, not only as patriots, but as rational beings, acting under the powerful instinct of self-preservation, to provide new guards for our future security. I am deliberately convinced in my own mind that the period has arrived for the people of the South to act, and to act efficiently on this subject, or their weight and importance in the scale of national existence will be lost, and their safety endangered forever. And it is a consoling reflection, that whatever contrariety of opinion may exist among Southern men upon other suppects, they will be true to themselves, and to the compromises of the Constitution, and feel and act in relation to it, as one man.

HISTORICAL RECORD.

Baptist Resolutions.

We extract the following resolutions from the Minutes of the Worcester (Mass.) Baptist Association.

The Committee on Slavery reported to the Association the following resolutions, which were adopted:

Resolved, (1.) That the subject of slavery is well deserving the yearly attention of this body; and any want of unity of faith respecting it, so far from being an objection to a frank expression, and fraternal interchange of sentiment, is the very reason why there should be.

(2.) That the aspects of the anti-slavery enterprise were never more encouraging than now, and that the happy tendency of separation between the friends and the opposers of the negro, is evidence that the day of redemption draweth nigh.

(3.) That the slave traffic, by which 200,000 human beings are annually thrust into the worst of all physical bondage, and the slave system in the southern States, by which nearly 3,000,000 more are yet detained in it, are both entitled to our deepest sympathy, weighty deliberation, prudent yet decisive action, and solemn prayer to God.

(4.) That as a delegation from the churches does not always exactly represent the views of their brethren, the churches be requested to express their opinion severally on this important subject in their annual epistle to the association.

(5.) That since slavery is most important in its moral aspects, and not to be properly removed without moral means, it is particularly the duty of Christians, individually and ecclesiastically, on proper occasions, to bear unequivocal testimony against it, with gentleness but with fidelity, in prudence without reserve, in love without compromise; and at the same time to bear testimony as strong against all measures not in accordance with the measures, principles, and spirit of the gospel.

M. Harrington, Chairman.

Hollis (N. H.) Association.

Resolutions passed at a meeting of the Hollis Association

The committee appointed to consider the subject of slavery, would respectfully report, that the following sentiment be adopted by the Association.

Whereas, a principal object of the gospel ministry is to lead man back to God, to restore the Divine image, and to prepare him to glorify and enjoy God;—

And whereas, slavery, as it exists in this country, degrades him from the platform of humanity, "ranking him not among sentient beings, but among things, as property,"—forbids his being taught to read or write, thus putting it out of his power to "search the scriptures,"—destroys the validity and sanctions of marriage among the enslaved, and exposes them to universal concubinage and adultery;—

And whereas, by thus sinking them below their appropriate condition, desecrating or rendering their existence a curse, taking from them one of the most important means of salvation, making them the sport of animal passion, and compelling them to sin,—its natural tendency is to prevent or destroy the very object for which the gospel ministry is appointed; therefore

Resolved, That, as an Association of Ministers, we feel called upon to record our solemn testimony against slavery, as a heinous sin against God, which, like all other sins, ought to be immediately repented of and abandoned.

Resolved, That the abolition of American slavery, as a moral and religious enterprize, is deserving of the prayers and efforts of the Christian community.

Resolved, That we recommend to the churches of our charge, to take this subject into prayerful consideration, and to use all suitable measures to bring about the utter extinction of slavery in the church and the world.

The above was adopted by the Hollis Association at New Ipswich, Oct. 28, 1840.

HUMPHREY MOORE, Moderator.
Attest, David Perry, Scribe.

Fourth Congregational Church in Abington.—Believing it to be our duty to God and man to bear testimony against the sin of slavery, the Fourth Congregational church in Abington, Mass, have adopted the following resolves:

1. That we regard the enslaving of our fellow-men, or the holding of them as mere goods and chattels, to be a sin against God, and an outrage on the inestimable rights of man.

2. That we believe it to be our duty to bear testimony against the sin above specified, and to treat it in all cases as a disciplinable offence.

3. That we regard it our duty to 'remember them that are in bonds as bound with them,' and to employ every means which the law of benevolence requires, to effect their emancipation.

4. That, in the opinion of this church, it is not right for its pastor to exchange with slaveholding ministers, or with those who advocate slavery.

5. That, in the opinion of this church, its members ought not to commune with slaveholders, either by giving or receiving invitations to each other's communion tables.

Abington, Oct. 22, 1840.

Free-Will Baptists.—This denomination of Christians surpasses every other in our land, in the activity and consistency of its opposition to slavery. At the Oswego Yearly Meeting, held in Hastings, N. Y., in June last, the following resolutions were unanimously adopted:

Resolved, That *immediate emancipation* is the right of the slave; and that that man, or body of men, who will not yield this '*inalienable right*,' place themselves in the stead of *God*, in respect to the slave; and for such an offence He will not hold them guiltless; for Jehovah says, 'Judgment is mine; I will repay.'

Resolved, That we approve of the conduct of the Free-will Baptist General Conference, in respect to Dr. Housley; for we too would *reject* a Dr. Housley, or *any* other in like circumstances, with all their contaminating influence of slavery.

The following resolution was also passed:

Whereas, American slavery is a heinous sin in the sight of God, opposed to his moral government, and He cannot look upon the offering of a slaveholder with approbation, therefore, Resolved, that we will not receive any donation from a slaveholder to aid the cause of foreign missions.

Synod of Pittsburg.

One year ago, it adopted the "act" of the Assembly of 1818. This year a memorial was presented, praying it to pass certain resolutions, declaring that slaveholders ought not to have a place in the Christian church—that the avails of slave labor ought not to be received into the treasuries of benevolent societies—that it is the duty of ministers to preach, and Christians to pray against slavery—that the last General Assembly acted wrong in not publishing the anti-slavery letter sent to them and their churches under its care, by the Presbyterian church of Scotland, and in not receiving, much less considering or answering the anti-slavery memorials sent up by the Synod and Presbytery of Cincinnati—and that the Board of Foreign Missions of the General Assembly ought not to enjoin it upon their missionaries, to refrain from saying any thing on the subject of slavery. The memorial having been sent to the Committee on Bills and Overtures, was reported by their Chairman, Mr. Fairchild, who moved *that it be laid on the table*. Several attempts were made to take it up, but they failed till near the close of the session, when it was announced, that if the memorial were not heard, considered and answered, a protest would be offered. A protest was prepared accordingly and signed by Messrs. Adair, Bushnell, Ray, Turbett, Bradford, Knox, McCandless, Wright, Wilson, Dilworth, Lewis and Crane, all ministers; and also by several elders. The memorial was then taken up, read, and again laid on the table. One of the protestants remarked that they must still insist on entering their protest, as the Synod had not *considered* and answered the memorial. The Synod then voted to take it up again, and it was finally, by a vote of 57 to 56, referred to a select committee to report on at the next meeting of the Synod.

The Session of Hopewell Congregation, Mercer county, Pa., last March, without asking permission from the minister, and in direct opposition to his wishes, passed resolutions, declaring that slavery was wrong and ought to be immediately abolished; that they did not feel free to patronize a minister, who would not preach against this sin as well as every other; that any two of their members (the whole number of elders was 6) might invite any suitable person to come into their bounds and lecture on Temperance or Slavery; and that the minister read these resolutions to the congregation. Five elders voted for, one against them. This one and the pastor complained to the Presbytery of Beaver. The Presbytery said, they did not see any thing in the session worthy of death or bonds; to be sure, they had handled their minister almost too roughly; on this ground there was some cause of complaint. The resolutions, however, were in the main correct, in the judgment of the Presbytery. The two gentlemen then complained of the Presbytery to the Synod, and "*Synod sustained their complaint.*"—*Philanthropist.*

SELECTIONS.

The Eloquence of Alvan Stewart.

Our readers are all more or less familiar with the unique eloquence of Alvan Stewart—his odd conceptions, pungent sarcasm, bold rebukes, melting pathos, and sparkling wit. The "National Committee of Correspondence" of the Third Party have just issued an Address from his pen, which, however it may be lacking in sound argument for the support of their favorite measure, contains several characteristic passages, too good to be lost, and with which, we are sure, our readers can hardly fail to be pleased. We therefore give them below, only premising that the headings of the paragraphs are our own.

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The National Disease.—The great political doctors of this land have felt of the nation's pulse, looking her in the face, inquired for all symptoms, modes of diet, manner of repose, and her sort of amusements and various exercises. One set of these pro-slavery physicians profess to have discovered nothing but a corn on one of the toes, while the other thinks a little more exercise would give a finer flow of animal spirits, and relieve the patient from a certain dyspepsia or sleeplessness which he has discovered. In vain do we point them to the festering sore that must be probed to the bottom, and without delay, lest the deadly gangrene ensue. We are told that the patient was born into the world with that ulcer; that, although it has increased five-fold, and is abstractly an evil, and might abstractly be considered the cause of an abstract ailment, and an abstract lingering, and may be followed by an abstract death, but surely nothing *more*, unless it was *abstractly* buried in an *abstract* grave. The pro-slavery doctors have hunted for all causes for the afflictions of their patient except the right one.

To drop our figure, it seems plain that one million two hundred thousand laborers, especially if they are slaves, can never maintain four millions five hundred thousand idle people, who have so many extravagances to gratify. If slavery were abolished this day, the slaves, as freemen, would, from the stimulus of reward, produce double what is now extracted from them, and with vastly less pain. Again, there is nearly one million of idle poor men and women in the South, who are very poor, but still refuse to work, as it is disgraceful for white people to labor, in a slave country. This million would rejoice to labor for its reward, when its disgrace was removed. The South and North would immediately flourish, and at least fifty millions of permanent wealth be added to the nation annually; and the solid happiness of the nation doubled, besides being relieved from those periodical spasms and insolvencies which so seriously convulse it every seven or eight years. The danger of insurrection at home, or invasion from abroad, would be removed to an interminable distance.

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Subserviency of the Whig Party.—The present whig party, which has swept over the land with the power of a tornado, has acted in subservience to the slaveholder. The northern ballot box is crimsoned with the blood of the slave, both parties having laid him on the altar of venality, as a sacrifice to propitiate the goddess of power, and have thus sought her favor, the one party by the dexterity with which they laid on the wood, while the other, not to be outdone, displayed a cultivated vigor in binding the victim. The successful party, who bound the sacrifice, will move around that altar, and install their high priest in solemn form, when he will be called on to swear to defend the victim and the altar from intrusion, by the blood of Bunker Hill, by the retreating, shoeless, blood-tracking soldiers of the Revolution, and as he marches around the blue flames, will further swear by the Goddess of Liberty and by the liturgy of equal rights, by the length of Mason and Dixon's line, by the awful and unrevealed mysteries of the implied compact, by that uplifting faith which grows stronger and stronger, as the evidence on which it rests grows weaker and weaker, by the high commands of the unwritten part of our Constitution, by its wonderful power to repeal the written portion, by the surprising wisdom each white man possesses to make a constitution for every black man, as he runs along, by all that is glorious in *white*, by all that is contemptible in *black*, by all that is tremendous in color, by all that is sublime in straight hair, by all that is horrible in *kinked*, "I, William Henry Harrison, President of the United States, as Martin Van Buren did before me, will forever protect the altar of slavery, with its victims, from all encroachments by the humane; I, the said President, affirm there is no human arm so mighty, no constitution so strong, no philanthropy so penetrating, no democracy so flagrant as to be able to unbind one of those chatteled victims." The President and Vice President of the United States elect, have declared, yea, pledged themselves to maintain the greatest lie in the universe—that a father can chattelize his own child, into a slave; that the insolence of piracy is true southern chivalry; that a human flesh-proprietor has a right to make others groan with pain that he may sing for joy; to make others go hungry, that he may be fed to the full; to wear out others that he may be well preserved; to make others lie on the cold ground that he may lie canopied on his bed of down; to cause other men's wives to be sold to buy ottomans for his own; to send his own colored children to be sold in a market that his white ones may be educated in a college; to send other men's sons to be wasted with toil in the fogs of a rice swamp, that on the avails his son may whirl and dance in the circle of fashion.

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The Last War.—The South by its vote declared the late war, in opposition to the desire of the merchant and the sailors, from the pretended yearnings of humanity to rescue and protect six hundred seamen, impressed into the British service under the plea that they were British subjects, where they received the accustomed wages of seamen; while at this very time the South depended for their very existence upon the labor of two millions of men, women and children, impressed, yea, enslaved by them, without wages—and said slaves were themselves property.

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Treachery of the Slaveholders.—Look at the perfidy of the treacherous slaveholder, who, after tempting Martin Van Buren and his party to forsake the great highway of democratic principles, to "bill and coo" in the forbidden and polluted paths of slavery, and now, having drawn the democracy out of sight and hearing of the doctrines of the Declaration of Independence, slavery deserts them, and leaves them at the greatest possible remove from their own well avowed principles and the great landmarks of their professions.

Mr. Van Buren and his friends are not to be pitied; they had no right to barter their principles, their humanity, their justice, for power possessed or expected, when conferred by the slaveholder as the price of political integrity to the slave. The democracy is rightly punished, by the desertion of the slaveholder, and a perfect prostration of Mr. Van Buren and his party. The case still proclaims, in tones loud as thunder, the want of gratitude and the treachery of the slaveholder, and shows whoever leans upon him for support, reclines upon a "broken staff, on whose sharp point hope bleeds and expectation dies."

But the democracy of this country have been taught a bitter, but instructive lesson. They should not have sold Joseph into Egypt for a mess of Presidential potage. The abolitionists have been endeavoring to reduce democratic abstractions into substantial realities. We invite every democrat in the land to aid us in reducing their beautiful theories to practice. We believe every innocent man upon earth has the best right to himself, his wife, his children, his earnings, his labor, his liberty and life, and do not democrats believe the same? This is abolition; and is not this democracy? Democrats profess to be anti-monopolists; what monopoly so great as for 250,000 slaveholders to monopolize the labor of 3,000,000 of people, without compensation?

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Father, forgive them!—May our merciful Father forgive our erring brothers, who have, gone, as they say, "for this once," and voted against the poor slave, for a Tyler or a Johnson. May they be forgiven by Him who treasures up in everlasting remembrance the sorrowful groans of the slave mother, as she, on the day they voted for a slaveholder, listened to the piteous cry of her first-born, beaten by the fierceness of avarice, the cruelty of lust, the unfeelingness of a slave-master. That inarticulate sorrow of a bleeding heart is transferred to that great ineffaceable record which will be read and published from the centre of eternity. O forgive all who have voted that this mother's groans and her child's cry shall yet for four years more ascend from this blood-stained and tear-watered land, that a Tyler may rule.

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Personal Responsibility.—Abolitionists in each town, as a general rule, should entirely rely on their own abilities to abolitionize the town, by means of their own, such as speakers, books, pamphlets, and papers. This habit of relying on some great man to come into a town, once in six months or a year, to deliver an address, has been very disastrous in its consequences, as the friends of the cause in each place have appeared to feel relieved from all duty to work in the cause, as they expected it would be done by the transient orator. This hope and practice must be abandoned. The abolitionists of a town must convert that town, or it will go unconverted.

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The Anti-Slavery Press.—We attach very great importance to the instrumentality of THE PRESS. On that, our main dependence, under Heaven, must be placed. No town should be without fifty anti-slavery papers. This would only be 3 or 4 papers to each school district in the State of New-York. These papers are generally $2 each, for the year. One person who worked out by the day, need not fear to advance the sum of $10, even if he borrowed it. This would pay for 6 papers, as the papers will be sold, where so many are taken. He might sell five of such papers to such persons in the town as he could persuade to take them at $2 each. He thus gets his money back, saves one paper for his trouble to himself, and performs a really more substantial service to this cause than has sometimes been performed by a salaried agent in 3 months. In fact, such a man is an agent of the most meritorious kind. He who raises ten dollars, and performs this most important labor for the wretched, will deserve the thanks of the friends of God and man. Eight such men in a town would bring into it 48 papers, and so on, in proportion. This must be done. Ten such men can be found in many towns, and eight in others, five in others, and three in others, and thus these noble presses, ready to perish, (and without which this cause cannot go on,) would be resuscitated and saved from destruction, and more might be accomplished in this way in a single year than has been done from the commencement of this enterprise. Who is so irresolute that he will not raise the $10? What would you think, if you were a slave in a Carolina rice swamp, and the poorest of those pretending to be your friends would not rally and do as much as this? Some of our wealthy brethren might take 20 papers on the foregoing principle, and sell them, or give them away, and never feel it. Yes! they would feel it, for they would feel the better for it forever.

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The end will come.—A lie cannot last forever. Slavery is the greatest lie in the universe of God. It is unalloyed wickedness. It embraces every crime which may be committed against man or his Maker. It is the fittest emblem of hell, that can be found on the earth.

The time will come when the last slave will be free.—The time will come when the last mark shall be made on his quivering flesh. The time will come when the last slave shall mount the auction-board, and hear his knell of fate in the words, "going, gone!" The time shall come when the last family shall be distracted with the separation of father, mother, and child. Yes, the time will come when slavery shall have returned to its native hell. Is there a man in the free States, who will not aid in its expulsion!

Words Fitly Spoken.

Selected for the Standard, from the writings of Wm. Lloyd Garrison.

"Words fitly spoken are like apples of gold in pictures of silver."

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XXVIII.

Commendable Sympathy.—Our city editors are belligerent against "*a mean thief*," who lately stole a box containing three dollars in cents from a poor old woman who has sold apples, &c., at the State House, "from time immemorial." This case deserves their honest and even vehement indignation; but are they ignorant that such dastardly cases are common! Let them look at the South, where whole communities swarm with legalized pickpockets and defrauders! where three millions of unhappy beings are fleeced every day of the fruits of their severe toil, by villains in the shape of Republicans and Christians! and not only are these laborers despoiled of their just gains, but, what is infinitely worse, they are also deprived of their liberties, treated less kindly than brutes, and made to endure every kind of indignity! O, the meanness, the vileness, the unspeakable depravity of such conduct!—*Liberator*, vol. 1, No. 15.

XXIX.

The Negro Pew.—The greatest scandal which rests upon our houses of worship—and deservedly, too—is the practice of providing obscure, remote and inconvenient boxes behind the audience, and apart even from the galleries, for those whose complexion God has made of a darker hue, —as if they were not embraced in the offers of redeeming love, and were indeed a part of the brute creation. It is an awful commentary upon the pride of human nature. I never can look up to those wretched retreats for my colored brethren, without feeling my soul overwhelmed with emotions of shame, indignation and sorrow. And then to think that no black man, however virtuous, respectable or pious he may be, can own or occupy a pew in the central part of the house! This wicked division is one of the devil's own contrivances. It is perfectly abhorrent in the sight of God, who is no respecter of persons. I call upon the ministers of the Lord Jesus Christ, and upon the churches, and upon every congregation, to put away this great sin, and no longer to let pride and prejudice mar the beauty of Christian worship.—*Ib.* No. 21.

XXX.

Emancipation is the order of the day. Glory to God in the highest, that the rights of man are beginning to be universally understood, asserted and obtained—that free inquiry is abroad in the earth, shaking the towers of civil and ecclesiastical domination, opening the prison-doors, giving freedom to the captive, and regenerating the world. Nations are born in a day. The empires of the old world are in travail with liberty, and revolution is marching onward with an earthquake step, and thrones are crumbling to the dust, and fetters are every where falling, and truth is vanquishing error, and nations are joining in marriage, and people of every tribe and tongue and color are shouting, LIBERTY AND EQUALITY NOW—LIBERTY AND EQUALITY FOREVER!—*Ib.* No. 22.

XXXI.

The Enterprise is great, but it is not desperate; the difficulties in the way are numerous, but the facilities of victory are more abundant. We expect to conquer through the majesty of public opinion; our hope is on God, and on the moral power of the nation. As slavery in its origin was a national crime, so likewise is its removal a national duty. One State cannot meet it single-handed; one section of the country cannot destroy it. The people, the whole people, must engage in the work; every man, and every woman, and every child. We have all committed the act of oppression, directly or indirectly; there is innocent blood upon our garments, there is stolen property in our houses; and every one of us has an account to settle with the present generation of colored people.—*Ib.*

XXXII.

Philanthropic Arithmeticians are prodigiously fond of *figuring*, but of doing nothing else. Give them a slate and pencil, and in fifteen minutes they will clear the continent of every black skin; and, if desired, throw in the Indians to boot. While they depopulate America, they find not the least difficulty in providing for the wants of the colonized myriads on the coast of Africa; we have ships enough, and, notwithstanding the hardness of the times, money enough. O, the surpassing utility of the arithmetic! it is more potent than the stone of the philosopher, which is to transmute, at a touch, base metal into pure gold.—*Ib.* No. 28.

XXXIII.

Violence Deprecated.—Whether it be fear or principle which leads me to deprecate violent or bloody measures, I am not willing to concede that a blow struck by my hand in the cause of liberty would exceed in enormity that which Lafayette and other patriots have given. Nay, I am bound to the slaves by dearer ties than foreign warriors were to our fathers, because they are my countrymen; and surely, if a man can be justified in fighting for a foreign people—the Greeks or Poles, for example—how much more can he be justified in fighting for his own brethren! Yet I am for leaving vengeance to God.—*Ib.* No. 29.

XXXIV.

What is the crime for which I am arraigned? Of what transgression have I been guilty which leads "every true patriot and Christian" to invoke starvation upon my head? It is simply in reprobating slavery as a system so full of impiety, cruelty and injustice, that it should not be tolerated under any pretence. It is in contending for an immediate compliance with the requirements of justice, and with that safe and equitable precept of Jesus Christ, "Therefore, whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even so unto them." It is in pleading for my colored countrymen as every body is willing to concede I should plead for my white ones, were they in similar circumstances. It is in denying that it is expedient, or right, to cease from robbery and oppression by a slow process. It is in leaving the conduct of slaveholders without excuse or palliation. It is in endeavoring to prove, that, in every point of view, the immediate and total abolition of slavery would be attended with the happiest results. Finally, it is in sounding the trumpet of alarm, to warn an infatuated and slumbering

NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD.

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 17, 1840.

John G. Whittier.

We give the remainder, this week, of the elegant, and highly-wrought satire of our beloved and lamented friend. We do not feel the point of any of his shafts, all graceful though they be, as if shot by the Adonis Paris. They were not malignantly aimed—for we cannot imagine malignity in the breast of our gentle friend. He is our friend, and declares, besides, *expressly*, that it is all done "in the spirit of kindness." It is "slight differences of opinion" only, he avers, that called for it,—only "a hastily uttered word," (on our part,) and that "on topics not immediately connected with our great common object." We readily imagine that friend W.'s expenditure of so much poetical phrase, was not so much to place us in a bedlamitish position, as to vindicate himself for occupying a sort of armed neutrality post, between *old organized anti-slavery*, which he cannot gainsay, and the erring *friends* of new organization, whom he cannot endure to rebuke, or see rebuked, for their sinister movement. He does not love old anti-slavery less, but some of its quondam advocates more; and for love of them, he is bound to vindicate their coadjutors, the London Committee, even in such a perpetration as having new organized, *before its existence*, the otherwise most glorious meeting the earth has witnessed. This epistle of friend Whittier's would read oddly beside his magnificent call to that assembling meeting. But the call was Poetry. Our friend was not in his *statesman* mood, when he wrote it. He was rather in such mood as we must imagine him, when, by and bye, in the Cabinet service of the future abolition President of the United States—*Secretary of* WAR, peradventure; for President Birney would no more dispense with that department, than his predecessors, the Heroes of New Orleans and Tippecanoe. It is an incident to the office. It is its right arm, and could friend W. elevate a christain brother to the necessity of that department, and be himself, from *principle*, averse to filling it? We think not. The call was uttered as a poet, and with poetic license; the letter of reproof prepared as a statesman. We will continue our last week's *notice* of it—giving our readers the highly rhetorical remainder of the letter, so far as it relates to our remarks on the London Conference.

Well might that band of philanthropists (the abolitionists of England,) point us to the West Indies—contrast our nicely woven abstractions(19) with their glorious practice—and show us the broken chains and untwisted fetters, which they have torn from the limbs of nearly one million of human beings, while we have been establishing a "platform"—settling "first principles," and blowing up, doubtless with much expenditure of breath, soap-bubble resolutions, which the first blast of party politics dissipates into thin air.(20) The truth is, our friend Rogers has little sympathy with any thing staid, sober paced, prosaic, and formula-fettered;(21) and we suppose he found most of our English brethren mere non-conductors of his fervid, imaginative, electric-sparkling abolitionism.(22) He went dreaming of setting a whole world free from all kinds of oppression—mental, physical, social, religious and political,(23) millenial fire-shadowings fell about him in his pathway across the waters; he went to receive and in turn communicate an enthusiasm which was to go round the world the *pharmakon nepenthes* for all its evils(24)—and they gave him dull reports, plans for abolishing the slave-trade—and for cotton growing in the East—passionless, and *figurative* only in tables of statistics.(25) Fresh from the excitements of our own anti-slavery gatherings, where Greek meets Greek, and old and new organization, with male and female combatants, discuss "great principles"(26)—and liberate the two and a half millions of law-bound slaves, by resolutions, as Gen. Hull conquered the Canadas by proclamation(27)—he found himself amidst quiet Quakers, sturdy impassive country gentlemen, begowned clergymen, and Baronet M. P.'s sitting down to the work of abolishing slavery, with as much coolness and imperturbable self-possession, as if they were engaged in reckoning the interest of the British National Debt.(28) Staid philanthropists "of respectability and standing," they wended their way to the convention with one fixed idea, in a methodic, business-like manner, to devise ways and means for the abolition of "*negro slavery*."

> "The head and front of their 'assembling,'
> Had this extent, no more."(29)

They came prepared, with statistics, reports of Parliamentary Committees, Colonial laws, and such living witnesses as Sturge, Scobie, Stuart, and Knibb, who, not without toil and peril, had taken the "guage and dimensions" of slavery and emancipation in the West Indies—to show that the particular system of oppression called *slavery*, whereby one man becomes the absolute property of another, was an abomination which no Christian nation, or Tartar horde even, should tolerate(30)—not admirers of "the largest liberty" as exemplified in our slavery-ridden Republic(31) and naturally enough cherishing their English pride, by contrasting the 800,000 new made freemen of the Colonies of "Victoria 1st, by the grace of God, Queen of England, Scotland and Ireland," with the two and half millions chained in our land of Democratic enlightenment,(32) their fetters rattling to the jar of patriotic cannon, let off in celebration of the day on which the fathers and grandfathers of their masters declared "ALL MEN BORN EQUAL"; they came to welcome American abolitionists to their hearts and homes, and join them in promoting the extinction of chattel-slavery (33) They did not, however, come prepared to adopt our new doctrines of human equality;(34) and probably knew little of them—our declarations immortal in lithograph and satin; our "*platform*"(35) on which men and women lose their distinctive character, and become "souls without sex"—our long "reports," and indignant "protests"—old and new organization tactics—hair splitting metaphysics of the Joseph Tracy School—poetical and rhetorical flourishes—transcendentalism engrafted upon Puritanism—Cousin's "*Progress and Reform*," and Cromwell's "Sword of the Lord and of Gideon"—our discussions of ethics, theology, politics, "foreknowledge, will and fate," "long drawn out," although not always with the "linked sweetness" Milton speak of!(36)—The faintest possible rumor of all this alone reached our British fellow laborers.(37) They came to meet American abolitionists, as men altogether like themselves—intent upon the one common object. That object they supposed might be attained without subscribing to our Yankee doctrines of Equality, or sexless Democracy. For was not Wilberforce himself a Tory!(38)—Did he not with one breath denounce the Slave-Trade, and with the next defend that Church Establishment, which Milton, eloquently indignant, in the name of his abused and plundered countrymen, declared had been "for twelve hundred years, a sad and doleful succession of blind guides to the souls of Englishmen—a wasteful band of robbers to their purses!"(39)—Was it to carry into practice any abstract doctrine of equality that the measure of West India Emancipation received the votes of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, in Parliament?(40) Did William IV. in giving his royal assent to that Bill, become a radical democrat—a second monsieur *Egalite*!—And now, when members of the Royal Family, Lords and Knights and Right Honorables—England's chivalry and her highest born, grace the platforms of Anti-Slavery Meetings, will Ireland find redress for her wrongs(41)—will China, swallowing opium poison, under the guns of the British Navy, obtain a respite—will the starving murmur of the miserable Chartist be answered less sternly with a pistol-shot, and sabre-cut!—Not at all.(42) It were as unreasonable to suppose it as that we ourselves, by reason of our abolitionism, should be found perfect patterns of consistency, meekness, self-denial, and kind-dealing(43)—with no segment wanting to complete the circle of our perfectibility. Our British friends, I suspect, after all, upon a rigid scrutiny, will be found quite as consistent as ourselves.(44)

In making these hasty comments, I take it for granted that the editor of the Herald will understand that they are offered in a spirit of kindness.(45) We have known each other too long and well, to permit slight differences of opinion(46) to disturb our settled esteem and friendship; or rank us in the number of those, who, after toiling and suffering together for years, in the cause of humanity, have allowed a hastily-uttered word or an honest disagreement upon topics, not immediately connected with our great common object,(47 to separate them from each other, and who now

> "Stand aloof, the scars remaining,
> Like cliffs which have been rent asunder—
> A dreary sea now flows between,
> But, neither rain, nor frost, nor thunder,
> Shall wholly do away, I ween,
> The marks of that which once hath been"

(19) To which of "our nicely woven abstractions" does friend W. allude—the Declaration of Independence, or the Constitution of the American Anti-Slavery Society? By "our" he means abolitionists, no doubt; for it is with American abolitionists "that band of philanthropists" have placed themselves in contrast. It is American anti-slavery they have discarded and publicly dishonored, as chimerical, and unworthy to be admitted to association with their *manly* wisdom; and friend Whittier sanctions their bold assumption. He, too, can call the vital doctrines of our ant.-slavery enterprise "nicely woven abstractions," compared with the apprenticeship system of Britain, and her offering of a hundred millions of dollars, wrung from the necessities of "bread-taxed England," as a parting present to savery in the West Indies. "Glorious practice," truly, as contrasted with our anti-slavery *abstractions*! We had not expected friend W. to have adopted so soon (if at all) the common pro-slavery notion, that anti-slavery is a "nicely woven abstraction."

(20) We do not wonder at all, since our friend Whittier has become enamored of London Committeeism, that he laughs at "establishing platforms, and settling first principles;" and that he regards our Herculean resolutions as "soap-bubbles," *blown up* with *expenditure of breath*. In this he will be joined by all the pro-slavery of the country. New organized "bubbles" are to be substituted for ours—distended with a different sort of breath, viz: *the breath about the ballot-box*, that "whispers" of the rum tavern, "whence it stole its balmy spoils." That is the breath that henceforth is alone to fill all our anti-slavery *bubbles*, and the sails of the anti-slavery ship. We assure friend W., however, that the blasts of party politics, whether of first, second, or third party, are not of force to "dissipate" the resolves with which patient, persevering, working abolitionism is agitating the pro-slavery pulpits and church organizations of the North.

(21) Our anti-slavery sympathy is with *immediate emancipation by the free and equal agency of the friends of humanity, without distinction of age, sex, color, clime or creed*. Does friend W. want any thing more "staid, sober-paced, prosaic or formula-fettered" than this? If he does, he can find abundance of it to his hand in the Massachusetts Abolitionist and the Boston Courier, and other pro-slavery prints, which have eagerly copied his letter. We think friend W. cannot lay his finger on any evidence whatever of our lack of all the staidness, sober-pacedness, prose or formalities, which belong to his own professed anti-slavery, from the beginning. That we have always spoken *literally*, or *statistically*, we do not pretend. The charge, however, is one to which we could not seriously plead. If friend W. thinks we are lunatic, we congratulate him that he is not alone in the opinion. As to our *pace*, we will only add, that we do not incline to be SNAIL-paced, and, least of all, *crab-paced*, as some of our old anti-slavery friends will have to become, unless they speedily take *some kind* of anti-slavery position or other.

(22) The "electric-sparkling, fervid, imaginative" doctrine, which our "English brethren" *non-conducted*, was the doctrine, that all persons are competent members (if their principles are right,) of the Anti-Slavery Society, and that the American Anti-Slavery Society was competent to choose delegates to its *own projected* Convention.

(23) From which of those kinds of oppression would not friend W. have the human family delivered? Which would he preserve and protect from interruption? Which of them would operate as the most efficient aid in abolishing slavery? We have to inform our descriptive friend, that so far from the dreams he attributes to us, we had no dreams *at all*, and scarcely any sleep, on our outward passage,—sundry of "our English brethren," fellow passengers, having made "night hideous" nearly all the way, with brandy, whiskey, and "God save the King." We were a little too "sober-paced" to sympathize with that branch of "British usage," while they were altogether too "formula-fettered," to be "conductors" of our "fervid, imaginative, electric-sparkling" abstinence from strong drink. But, really, one must be pre-eminently mad, to dream even on a voyage to the *World's Anti-Slavery Convention*, of such chimeras as Universal Emancipation!

(24) Very finely said—but, dear friend Whittier, not strongly calculated to advance the slave's cause, or render our poor old, *mad* anti-slavery movement respectable in the eyes of the sneering world. They have called us all insane, you know, from the beginning. They will solace themselves that they were not mistaken, when they find friend *Whittier* of the same opinion. They will have his letter into the Reviews. And it all goes at the expense of old-fashioned anti-slavery, in defence of which the desertion of its abler friends has left us, unfortunately, conspicuous. There is some responsibility resting on our beloved friend in this behalf. The effect of his letter (if it have its effect) is to give two of our anti-slavery periodicals the *credit of lunacy*. We do not apprehend what our friend W. means by "*fire-shadowings*." *Fire* would seem not likely to *shadow*. Flaming imagination, perhaps, is meant,—something as nearly related to a thought, as shadow to substance—meteoric flashings about the *place of brains*, like what we sometimes experience from a stunning blow on the head, or a desperate *left* beyond our strength. We remember nothing of the kind on our passage. We sometimes saw starlight in "the blue above," and sometimes the broken surface of the hoary ocean flashed in the night round our fleet ship Columbus. We remember the pearly gleam of the albicore as he turned his belly up to the sun, down in the deep, transparent sea—but no "fire-shadowings" besides. "*Millenial* fire-shadowings," our brother says. Well, dear Whittier, are you alarmed at *the millenial*? If we have anticipations, expectations, foresceings, lengings, or whatever you call them, should they not be *millenial*! Are you apprehensive we are not prepared for a millenial state! Is it mental derangement to desire it, or strive after it, or to act like it? Did not the early disciples fancy the millenial state? We do not imitate them. Alas for us, that we do not! But would our friend W. taunt us, even for imagining the possibility of such a state on earth, and deem it madness to contemplate it on an occasion such as called us across the sea? Now we think of it, we wish we could experience some of these anticipations of coming peace on earth and good will towards men. We are inclined to think the real Christain lives on them, and that, with him, they already exist. "Millenial fire"-*light* beams constantly on his "pathway across the" sea of life.

(25) Friend Whittier is more than half right as to these *reports, plans, cotton growings* and *figures*. Now we care very little for them all. They have no tendency to abolish slavery, or pro-slavery. The thing we would abolish slavery for, is not that freedom will raise more cotton, but for the intrinsic, self-evident nature of slavery itself—its necessary nature, which every human heart comprehends at once, without the aid of *figures* or *statistics*. These can cast no light on the hideous character of slavery. Men understand slavery as instinctively as they do death. Human nature abhors it as much, and starts back at it as spontaneously! Minds and hearts that are not ready to do their duty in regard to slavery, want to regale themselves on statistics, and figures, and plans! REPENTANCE is the way for slaveholders to abolish slavery, and all the *statistics* under heaven wont bring them to that. Statistics were what Dives wanted Abraham to send his five brothers; *the statistics of Hell!* Abraham told him statistics would do them no good. We emphatically tell friend Whittier, that we did not cross the ocean to learn the statistics of the British provinces. They do not entertain our anti-slavery spirit. We went there to give a life-impulse, if possible, to the tyranny-ridden subjects of Europe, who might meet us there—to hold up before them a "self-evident truth" or two; and we have no fears that they would have retorted our *pro-slavery national character* upon us *abolitionists*. We have purged ourselves of that character, and they know it.

(26) We beg leave to question the *Quaker* good taste of this allusion to the part taken by woman in our anti-slavery meetings. And we demur to the illustration of old and new organization, by "Greek meets Greek." 'Greek meets *Trojan*, would be fitter,—or, for modern times, Greek meets *Turk*. New organization, moreover, does not "discuss great principles" with Old. If Old puts great principles before New, New shrinks from discussing them, and *secedes*. New secedes because Old will not defer the great principles of anti-slavery to the dogmas of sect and political party.—Old refuses to drive woman from the anti-slavery field, with the cartwhip of sect and "usage." New shrieks out, and deserts. Old wont drive non-resistants and millenial fire-shadowers from the anti-slavery ranks; and because it wont—or wont force politics and masculine supremacy, &c. &c., down the anti-slavery throat, New screams out that Old is getting "extraneous," and *secedes!*

(27) "Law-bound" is not a very complimentary adjective to our system of "human government." Now, we have too much respect for American law, to admit the imputation of slaveholder or kidnapper to be cast upon it. American law, we apprehend, does not enslave any one. Our new organized friends speak, some of them, of "bringing the slave under the protection of *law*." If the law enslaves him, the quicker he gets clear of its protection, the better. Does friend W. use this phrase, "law-bound," in aid of the idea, that legislative action is necessary to emancipation, and so political machinery of paramount importance in the anti-slavery movement? We think slaveholding a *moral* iniquity in this country, and not a legal one. We want a moral reform in regard to it, rather than a legal one. We can have legislative action against it, after a moral reform to the necessary extent, should legislative action be necessary, but not before. We have no idea it would be necessary. We shall liberate our slaves by resolutions, if they are ever liberated. As to General Hull's proclamation, it will be a case in point, when we undertake to abolish slavery, as he did to take Canada, by *force and arms*. It wont do to carry on war by proclamations, or anti-slavery by gun and bayonet, according to our old organized notions of anti-slavery. We can't reform slaveholders, as Colonization undertakes to Christianize Africa, with nine-pounders.

(28) Reckoning interest on that debt would quite as soon pay the debt, or abolish slavery, as those "quiet Quakers," (*quiet* as to any anti-slavery emotion or action,) "impassive country gentlemen," (*passive* gentlemen, rather,) or "Parliamentary Baronets." None of that kind of people would pass muster at an anti-slavery review. They were willing the British Parliament should make slaveholding in the West Indies illegal. But they have no heart for the principles or the movements necessary for the abolition of slavery throughout the world; and that was the great *object* of the World's Convention. Had that Convention, by the way, been called in 1835—not an American delegate would have sanctioned the organization of such a meeting as the London Conference in place of it. Our new organization put the British brethren up to it, or we do not believe they would have been guilty of it. They did it, as we believe out of hatred and fear of Garrison. The rejection of a delegate, or the assumption to turn the Convention into a Conference, or to control its organization, or *admit* its members by *ticket*, would have affected every American delegate, in 1835, as "taxation without representation" did Warren and Otis. But new organization will submit to any thing, for the sake of allies. We again pronounce the conduct of the Committee a tyrannical usurpation, and the conduct of our transported new organization base treachery to the anti-slavery movement in this country. We rejoice that we did not condescend to enter their *subject* walls. We occupied the only honorable spot in Freemasons' Hall, and that was the gallery. In 1835, every American delegate would have gone in there, who had not embarrassed himself by prematurely entering the meeting below, before the act of rejection.

(29) A paltry "*extent*," was it not, on a call for a "World's Convention?" It was not only the extent of their "head and front," but of their *tail* also, to wit: the American portion of their abettors, the New-Englanders who voted for the rejection of their countrymen—for, to reject any delegate, was to reject us all.

(30) And what Christian or Tartar would want any of those to show them the abominableness of human slavery! Can't a Christian understand that slaveholding is wickedness—yea, the extremity of wickedness,—without statistics, and reports, and all that trumpery? A *Tartar* would not need any of them, if a *Christian* would. Any man who does need them, *is no abolitionist*. There is not a savage in our western woods, nor a human creature any where between the two poles, that needs a *statistic* or a *syllogism*, any more than he does a ghost from the dead, to show him the true and full character of slaveholding.—Friend W. seems to think no Tartar horde would tolerate slavery—yet that the World's Convention needed the light of *statistics*, and *reports*, and *colonial laws*, and witnesses, who could tell slavery's "guage and dimensions," and emancipation's guage and size also, before they could come to the *logical* conclusion, that slaveholding was abominable. All these, with a learned argument from friend Birney, to prove that for a man to *own and use up his neighbor* was a—sin, would enable the London Committee's Conference to resolve that American slaveholding was really a business no Christian could consistently get his living in!

(31) Or "as exemplified" in the anti-slavery societies, whereof friend W. has been a member and an ornament.—Is *he* ceasing to admire that liberty?

(32) The pro-slavery part of which "enlightenment" will read friend Whittier's letter with no small sense of relief and pleasure. It is a real sign that "abolitionism is dying away."

(33) By ranking a portion of the anti-slavery delegates as "chattels." They would not have dared reject a *person*.

(34) So our Americans went "prepared," (some of them,) "to adopt" their *old* "doctrines of human" *inequality!* Is John G. Whittier prepared to adopt them?

(35) We are sorry friend Whittier has lost his respect for these declarations, platforms, &c.

(36) Friend Whittier would not once have trifled in this unbecoming manner, with a society which is the slave's last hope. It will cost him something of his well-earned fame.

(37) New organization's *letters* had reached them, distinctly enough, according to John Scoble, if "*rumors*" had not.

(38) Would friend W. allow him, therefore, to *terrify* the World's Convention!

(39) But this was all "fire-shadowing" in John Milton! Suppose the Committee had refused tickets to any but high Church of England men! would friend W. have called objecting to it a "millenial fire-shadow"!

(40) No! it was the "abstract doctrine" of plundering "bread-taxed" labor of twenty millions sterling, to pamper slavery withal! Geo. Thompson and O'Connell were after them for liberty, and to avoid their claim, they befooled the half-way abolitionists with an extension of slavery for six years, and a parting gift of £20,000,000!

(41) No. To propose an anti-slavery resolution of such extent of principle as to include Ireland, (or any body else,) would be an enthasiastic "fire-shadowing"—a "millenial" *obumbration*, that would shock British dignity, and baffle new organization of its creeping purpose.

(42) Friend W. here lets the cat out of the bag. He is betraying the "sober-paced, staid" character of London Committeeism, for which he has such profound reverence. What is the anti-slavery worth that can give "the miserable chartist pistol-shot and sabre-cut," in answer to his "starving murmur"!

(43) Which we never can be, with a new organized abolitionism. And to "*dream*" of it, friend W. would laugh at, as a "millenial fire-shadowing."

(44) Which, according to friend Whittier, is consistent enough.

(45) It is not important how *we* take it. If friend W.'s poetical trifling, and his graceful and ingenious caricaturing of faithful anti-slavery effort, however wanting in ability, or even if savoring of the extravagant, shall have a tendency to cast contempt on the anti-slavery enterprise, so far as we are connected with it, it may be matter worthy consideration for *him*. So far as the wit or sarcasm of the epistle is at our personal expense, we must take our fate. So long as we are about right, however, we will run our chance cheerfully. We have been very kindly treated thus far, by the press—*for some reason or other*.

(46) *Something* of an *epistle* to be called for by "slight differences of opinion"!

(47) Rejecting humanity from the anti-slavery field, and trifling with the American Anti-Slavery Society, are not unconnected with our "great object," whether friend W. has it in "*common*" with us or not.

We have spun out our notes too long. We could not well avoid it. This London rejection is a very important movement, and ought to be well understood. We hope brother Garrison will give our friend the benefit of his remarks upon it, farther, and on friend W's. letter.

☞ The account of the Drunken Sea, on our last page, has been published as a pamphlet at Augusta, Me.

John B. Chandler Excommunicated.

We last week recorded the excommunication of brother Wood from the South Congregational Church, Concord, N. H., and his delivery over to the secular arm, for the charming Hopkinton prison. We intended to have recorded the excommunication of brother Chandler at the same time with that of brother Wood. He was a deacon, while he belonged to the North Church, as brother Wood was of the South. He was excommunicated at the same time with brother Wood, and for the same cause. No man can say aught against either of these brethren. They are both remarkable as being more conscientious and circumspect in their lives than professing Christians around them. They are now excommunicated. They are guilty of no heretical belief, even. But they do not attend meeting at present at the South meeting-house, but at the little gathering of humble abolitionists at the hall over the Concord Bank—and do not pay any thing towards supporting Rev. Mr. Noyes, because they regard him as a pro-slavery man.

A fact connected with this excommunication by way of illustration. Mrs. Wood, Mrs. Currier, Mrs. Hall, Mrs. Pillsbury, and Miss French—all members of the same church, and guilty of the very same disloyalty towards Reverend Mr. Noyes' meeting, in all respects, have been passed by without notice. If the excommunicated brethren were deserving of excision, so were they. If it was the duty or the right of the church to cut off those, these should have been cut off also. Why were they not? Is it because woman is an inferior? Would it conflict with "congregational usage," to so far acknowledge woman's *personality*, as to excommunicate her? Would it acknowledge her equality with *gentlemen*, to cut her off at the *same time* with men? Women have been excommunicated, we believe. We have known them *disciplined*. They may safely be allowed membership, so far as to be punished, if not so far as to have a voice in the church. The slave on the plantation is allowed to be human, so far as to be punishable by law. He is entitled to the penalty, though not the benefit, of law. Woman may be so held in the church, without endangering man's supremacy. Did the church think to terrify these "weak women" back to their place, by an example? We tell them weak women are the last in the world to be driven or frightened from their principles. Strong *gentlemen* often flinch, and very generally trim to the wind. "Weak women" have the firmness of the ocean rock.

Another fact, alike illustrative. Brother Moses Chamberlain of this place, late a member of the South Church, left the meeting there, for the same reasons, we believe, with brothers Wood and Chandler, more than a year ago.—Instead of excommunicating him, they gave him a letter of recommendation to the North Church, the same day they expelled brothers Chandler and Wood! Why did they not expel *him*—especially as he is a professed abolitionist? We will not conjecture. We give some facts. One is, brother Chamberlain is a new organizationist—and the pro-slavery pulpit is kindlier disposed towards new organization, as against old. Another fact. Brother Chamberlain does not go to the North Church for convenience—his convenience is the other way, as he dwells close by the South Church. Another fact—he is a very respectable trader, and a man of influence and activity in mercantile life. Brothers Wood and Chandler are poor men, and "without weight of influence." They all three left supporting the Reverend Mr. Noyes, and attending his meeting—brother C. for over a year—brothers Wood and Chandler for a few weeks.—Them they excommunicated, and him they recommended, as in good and regular standing, to the fellowship of the Rev. Mr. Bouton's church. Him they continue to fellowship, and them they have delivered over to the buffetings of Satan!

One distinguishing fact, however, deserves notice. Brother Chamberlain, though he has attended the *unlawful assembly* over the Bank, differs from the others in this—he is not regularly an attendant there, but has gone to a *meeting-house*, and met with a *sect*.

The anti-slavery community will put their own construction on these facts.

Governor Bagby's Message.

The remarks of the Governor of Alabama on the subject of slavery, in his recent message to the Legislature, will be found in this week's Standard, under their appropriate head. We hope all our readers will give them the attention to which their high source entitles them. The statements of his Excellency would furnish a text for a longer sermon than we have either time or inclination, at present, to preach; and the crowded state of our columns this week would not allow us to print it, even if we had it prepared. We must therefore leave our readers to make their own comments, in the main, on this bold defence of the "peculiar institution." It will be seen that the Governor avows his belief, that the institution will exist "TILL TIME SHALL BE NO MORE." The fact that the question is agitated at the South, and officially, too, is a significant sign of the times, and one from which abolitionists may well draw encouragement. The proceedings of our northern legislative and ecclesiastical bodies, it will be seen, have exerted their appropriate influence upon southern minds, and are regarded by them with alarm.

There is one point on which we most sincerely assure his Excellency that he has made a great mistake. We allude to the following remark:—"I feel no assurance, however, that the most righteous course on our part will ensure our future tranquility upon this subject." Now, if they will take "THE MOST RIGHTEOUS COURSE," *i.e.* immediately obey the dictates of justice and the command of God, by emancipating their slaves, we will insure them (what they never can obtain in any other way,) the most perfect "tranquillity" upon the subject. The slaves, their own consciences, and the abolitionists, (the three main sources of their present troubles,) will then all be tranquil. They can purchase peace on no other terms. Till then, they shall hear the voice of the civilized world, proclaiming in their ears the stern command of Jehovah, to "undo the heavy burdens and let the oppressed go free."

> "Startling and stern! the northern winds shall bear it
> Over Potomac's to St. Mary's wave!"

Till then—

> "Each breeze, from northern mountains blowing,
> The tones of Liberty shall bear—
> God's free incendiaries going!"

Till then, conscience, that never suffers men to be quiet in sin, shall not cease to speak with its voice of stern authority, rebuking them for their crimes, and commanding them to DO RIGHT, as the only condition on which they can insure "future tranquility."

One paragraph of the Governor's remarks contains a confession, which we little expected to see in such a quarter, and which is worthy of special notice. We allude to his admission, that southern statesmen "may have erred in refusing to receive petitions upon the subject of abolishing slavery." This looks like yielding something to the spirit of liberty, and like a return to reason on the part of the South. But we have no room for further comments.

THANKSGIVING.—This is the day which the Governor of New-York has recommended the people to observe as a day of thanksgiving and praise to God. We hope that those who observe the day will not forget the Governor's exhortation to "pray for the oppressed;" but those prayers which are only formal and occasional, and do not proceed from a heart habitually alive to the claims of suffering humanity, are of little worth.

ANTI-SLAVERY EXCHANGES.—We send to all our anti-slavery brethren of the press two copies of the Standard, and would like to receive the same number in return. We frequently get but one copy of the Friend of Man, Herald of Freedom, Advocate of Freedom, Abolition Standard, Christian Witness, &c. &c. Perhaps two are sent, and one of them sometimes gets into the wrong box at our post office. If our brethren will be kind enough to mail us *two* copies in *one* envelope, we will do the same by them in return.

PENNSYLVANIA.—The Eastern Pennsylvania A. S. Society will hold a special meeting at Philadelphia next week. A correspondent of the Freeman says,—"It is called, that the abolitionism of the Eastern District may speak. If it says that the primary object of the Freeman shall be to electioneer, and that the Book office shall be turned into a Political Committee room, let it be so."

☞ The President's Message has excluded several editorial articles prepared for this number.

The President's Message.

Intending as we do to make the Standard a channel through which the most important news of the day may reach its patrons, we have given place to this document entire, notwithstanding we have on hand a mass of interesting and important anti-slavery matter, which we desire to publish as speedily as possible.

Of the tone and character of the President's communication, considered as an *exposé* of his financial policy, it would not become us here to speak, even if we had any thing to say. There is in the message very little that is specially interesting to abolitionists, if we except the last two paragraphs, which relate to the foreign slave-trade—or, as it should be expressed, *the tariff, designed to give the South a monopoly of the market for slaves and souls of men!* for such, in fact, is the operation of our law in relation to that trade, so far as it operates at all. We cannot find language to express the feelings of disgust excited in our mind by the perusal of the President's remarks on this subject. That he could pen them without a blush, and deliberately put them forth to the world, as if they were conceived in a spirit of philanthropy, must be regarded as a fresh proof of his hardness of heart, and of the cool effrontery and hypocrisy which he is capable of exhibiting. After trampling upon all the principles of justice and humanity, and violating the boasted doctrine of his party, viz: that the will of the people, constitutionally expressed, is binding upon their public servants, by a solemn pledge to prostitute his veto, if necessary, to the protection of "THOSE DENS OF INIQUITY," built on human hearts and hopes, which exist at the seat of the national government, and are licensed by the authority of Congress—rendering our country at once

> "The Christian's scorn, the heathen's mirth—
> ——— the lingering jest
> And by-word of a mocking Earth"—

he has the impudence—nay, the shameless audacity, to talk of "giving an example to all nations" by forbidding our citizens, on the coast of Africa, to trade with slave factories!! Glaring as is this hypocrisy, it furnishes, nevertheless, an accurate exhibition of our national character. "The people love to have it so," and even our religious papers, no doubt, will generally participate in the self-complacent spirit in which the President has alluded to our country as "the first to declare the slave-trade piracy." To this depth of hollow-hearted and hypocritical profession, marked by the practice of the vilest fraud and robbery that ever saw the sun, have both Church and State among us sunk! But the pen drops from our hand, in utter despair of giving utterance to the feelings which stir our bosom, in view of such degrading and high-handed wickedness!

THE THIRD PARTY—OUR POSITION DEFINED.—From the Pennsylvania Freeman we learn that an indictment is pending against us in Bucks County, in that State, for our course in relation to the third party. We understand, from another source, that dissatisfaction is felt because it is supposed that our columns are closed against a free discussion of that question. This is a mistake. We have never declined to publish *arguments* in favor of that scheme, or intimated an intention to suppress such arguments, if its friends should think it worth while to offer them for insertion in our columns. As the Standard is the organ of a Society which has placed its condemnation upon that scheme, as hurtful in its influence upon the anti-slavery cause, and as both the Executive Committee and the editor entertain the same opinion respecting it, it surely cannot be expected of the latter that he should fill his columns with the local nominations and proceedings of its friends. If a County Convention in Massachusetts may claim to make the Standard its *organ* on this question, a similar Convention in any other part of the country may do the same; and thus our columns, like those of the Emancipator, would be principally filled with matter relating to that subject, while the great mass of our readers would much prefer to be treated to a different repast. If we were to admit one, we should be without excuse for not admitting all. In *selecting* matter for the Standard, we shall be governed, of course, by our own opinion of what the interests of the cause require; but it will be quite time enough, we think, to condemn us as unfriendly to free discussion on this subject, when we have refused to publish an argument in defence of what seems to us a most unwise and pernicious measure, either from a friend or foe of our Society. We hope, therefore, that our friends in Bucks County will enter a *nolle prosiqui* to the indictment which has been found against us.

DEATH OF DR. SOUTHWICK.—A notice of the death of this faithful laborer in the anti-slavery cause, was published in last week's Standard. The estimation in which he was held by his associates, will be seen by the following resolutions, adopted by the Executive Committee of the Maine Anti-Slavery Society on the 2d inst., and published in the Advocate of Freedom.

Resolved, unanimously, That in the death of our lamented fellow-laborer, and highly valuable member of this Board, Dr. Edward Southwick, we deplore the loss of one of the earliest, most amiable, discreet, ardent, liberal friends of the anti-slavery cause. Unswayed by popular applause, or moderate violence, he brought to this cause a mind strong in native powers, disciplined by an extensive education, enriched by foreign travels and general knowledge; a mind in which the eternal principles of right had been deeply and permanently fixed, which rendered him the deliberate, cool, firm, energetic, persevering friend of human rights even in the slave. To aid in sustaining and carrying forward the mighty enterprize of freeing our beloved country from the dreadful sin and curse of slavery, he frequently, freely and generously contributed time, influence, labor and *money*.

Resolved, That the loss of such a coadjutor would be felt at any time, but when such friends are few, and their judicious counsels and efficient aid are especially needed, his death is a very heavy affliction.

Resolved, That the Committee tender to the widow of Dr. Southwick their sincere condolence, fervently praying that she and her fatherless children may share in the sympathy of the compassionate Redeemer.

Resolved, That the Secretary furnish Mrs. Southwick with a copy of these Resolutions.

THE AMISTAD AFRICANS.—It appears from Parliamentary papers recently published in England, that the British government has interested itself, to a certain extent, in the case of these Africans; and has demanded their freedom in case they should be delivered up to the Spanish authorities by the American Courts. The Representative of Great Britain at Madrid, in a letter to the Spanish Minister, after a statement of the preliminary facts, says—

It is to be observed, that since the year 1820, according to Spanish law, it has been illegal to import negroes from Africa into the Spanish dominions. As, therefore, these negroes had been newly imported from Africa into Cuba, and as according to the law, they could not be imported as slaves, they must in the eye of the law be considered as free persons.

I have consequently been instructed by my government to call upon the government of her Catholic Majesty to issue, with as little delay as possible, strict orders to the authorities of Cuba, that, if the request of the Spanish minister at Washington be complied with, these negroes may be put in possession of the liberty of which they were deprived, and to the recovery of which they have an undeniable right.

I am further directed to express the just expectations of her Majesty's government that the government of her Catholic Majesty will cause the laws against the slave-trade to be enforced against Messrs. Jose Ruiz and Pedro Montes, who purchased these newly imported negroes, and against all such other Spanish subjects as have been engaged in this nefarious transaction.

I have, &c.

(Signed) G. S. S. JERNINGHAM.

To his Excellency Don Evaristo Perez de Castro.
&c. &c. &c.

THE MASSACHUSETTS ANTI-SLAVERY FAIR will be held at the Marlboro' Chapel, Boston, next week, commencing on Tuesday, the two hundred and twentieth anniversary of the Landing of the Fathers, and closing on Christmas evening, the 25th, with an ANTI-SLAVERY SOIREE. The latter will be a new measure, if we mistake not, in this country, at least as applied to the anti-slavery cause. Arrangements will be made for 300 covers at the supper table. Tickets $1 00. The proceeds will be credited to the Fair, and applied to the cause through the Massachusetts Society. The occasion cannot fail to be one of thrilling interest.

WRITINGS OF BERIAH GREEN.—The Oneida Institute has published a volume of Beriah Green's miscellaneous writings. Its contents are said to relate chiefly to the reforms of the age.

Correspondence of the Journal of Commerce.

Atrocious Murder.

NEW BRUNSWICK, N. J. Dec. 14, 9 o'clock, P. M.

Mr Abraham Suydam, of this city, who has been missing since the 3d inst., was found this evening *murdered* and buried under the cellar floor of a house belonging to a Peter Robinson. Circumstances of a very suspicious character excited a belief that Mr. S. had been murdered by Robinson, which induced a search to be made. On taking up the cellar floor (which had been recently laid) the place where the body was buried was immediately discovered, and the body found buried about four feet in the ground. The Coroner's jury are still out, and we do not yet know what marks of violence are upon the body, excepting the skull has been broken in near the top of the head, evidently produced by a blow from a hammer, axe, or a similar instrument. Robinson is a carpenter by trade, and had purchased the lot and received money for building the house on credit from Mr. Suydam. Mr. Suydam was undoubtedly induced to come to the house of Robinson under the promise of paying off his obligations, as the mortgage bond, notes, &c. were all found in Robinson's possession.

Robinson, his wife and brother, are secured. There is not the least shadow of a doubt of Robinson's guilt.

Mexico and Texas.—On the defeat of the federal army at Morelos in March last, Canales, Molano and Cardenas, escaped to Texas, where they were hospitably treated by the people. After failing to engage the Texian government in their plans in Mexico, they persuaded a number of the youth of Texas to join them in an invasion of the country, holding out the hope of an easy march to the city of Mexico, then in a state of revolt. On arriving at Rio Grande, it was ascertained that the revolution in the capital had proved a failure. This produced a secret consultation among the federal chiefs, to buy peace with the dominant faction at home by an act of perfidy to their foreign allies. They therefore abandoned the Texians (114 in number) to be murdered by the Mexicans. When the Texians became convinced of the intentions and treachery of the Mexicans, they retired by themselves to a walled enclosure in the vicinity, determined to face the worst. At this time the citizens of the place, considering the contest at an end, opened their houses and shops and gave the soldiers whatever they wished to eat or drink. The consequence was, that the bulk of them got beastly drunk; and in this situation they were ordered by their commander to attack the outlaws, (as the Texians were termed.)

The battle commenced about 2 P. M., and lasted near nine hours. The Texians were well protected from the fire of the assailants—and were moreover well armed, and abundantly supplied with ammunition. The result was, that the ignorant and intoxicated persons who assailed them, incapable of inflicting injury, were slaughtered on all hands. At this juncture, the besieged sallied forth and captured three pieces of artill

CONGRESS.

In consequence of the storm, a quorum of the members of the House of Representatives did not arrive at Washington until Tuesday, the day following that fixed by law for the meeting of Congress. In the Senate, a quorum was not obtained until Wednesday. On Tuesday, says the correspondent of the Journal of Commerce, Mr. J. Q. Adams took an opportunity while the House message was sent to the Senate, to give notice to the House that he would move, at a proper time, that the 21st standing rule of the House (the gag rule) be rescinded.

THE GAG RULE.

WEDNESDAY, Dec. 9, 1840.

Mr. JOHN QUINCY ADAMS, in pursuance of the notice given yesterday, moved a resolution in the words following:

Resolved, That the standing rule of this House, numbered 21, adopted on the 28th January last, in the following words:—"No petition, memorial, resolution, or other paper, praying the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, or any State or Territory, or the slave trade between the States and Territories of the United States in which it now exists, shall be received by this House, or entertained in any way whatever," be, and the same is hereby rescinded.

Mr. JENIFER moved that it lie on the table; and the yeas and nays were ordered on this motion.

Mr. ADAMS was understood to say that he was not desirous to enter into any discussion on this resolution; and that he was disposed to save the consumption of the time of the House in debate upon it. He should, for his own part, be satisfied that the question be taken by yeas and nays; and he hoped, therefore, that his friend from Maryland would withdraw his motion to lay the resolution on the table.

Mr. JENIFER said, if there was no discussion on the resolution, he certainly would withdraw his motion.

The motion was withdrawn.

Mr. ADAMS was understood to say, that he would then be perfectly satisfied to take the sense of the House on the resolution without further debate. He would simply remark that he offered it at this time because the first thirty days of the session were the days on which petitions were to be received, and of course it was necessary to offer the resolution as soon as possible.

He had also another reason. Considering the rule proposed to be rescinded as a direct violation of the Constitution of the United States, he was not willing, so far as his agency went, that it should stand one hour upon the book.

Mr. BANKS, of Virginia, was understood to refer to the fact that the rule had been adopted, at the last session, by a direct and solemn vote of the House; and to say that, for the purpose of avoiding a discussion, which could not fail to be exciting, he would move that the resolution be laid on the table.

Mr. CAVE JOHNSON asked the yeas and nays on that question, which were ordered.

The resolution having been again read—

Mr. LEWIS WILLIAMS said the House was by no means full, and he would, therefore, request the gentleman from Virginia to withdraw his motion. If gentlemen desired a full expression of the opinion of the House, it would be better that the subject should be postponed for a few days, in order that time might be given to absent members to take their seats. He believed there were not more than two-thirds of the members present; and with a view to avoid a mere partial expression of opinion, he would suggest a postponement of the further consideration of the resolution until this day week.

He would further suggest, that the gentleman from Maryland, (Mr. W. C. Johnson,) who originally moved the adoption of the rule, was not in his seat; and many other members were absent, who would doubtless desire to be present when the vote was taken.

Mr. ADAMS said he should prefer to have the question taken immediately on the resolution; and, next to that, he should prefer to have the resolution laid on the table; because, by being laid on the table, it might be called up again; and when the gentleman from Maryland, (Mr. W. C. Johnson,) who had had the *honor* of introducing the rule, should be present, he (Mr. A.) would be perfectly willing, if the House should consent to take up the resolution, to hear what he (Mr. J.) had to say in defence of it, provided the House would hear what he (Mr. A.) had to say against it.

The question on the motion to lay the resolution on the table was then taken, and decided in the affirmative—Yeas, 83—Nays, 58.

About half past 1 o'clock, the President, by the hands of his Private Secretary, transmitted to the two Houses of Congress his Annual Message, which was read by the Clerks of those bodies respectively, as follows:

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MESSAGE

From the President of the United States, to the two Houses of Congress, at the commencement of the second session of the twenty-sixth Congress.

Fellow-citizens of the Senate and House of Representatives:

Our devout gratitude is due to the Supreme Being for having graciously continued to our beloved country, through the vicissitudes of another year, the invaluable blessings of health, plenty, and peace. Seldom has this favored land been so generally exempted from the ravages of disease, or the labor of the husbandman more amply rewarded; and never before have our relations with other countries been placed on a more favorable basis than that which they so happily occupy at this critical conjuncture in the affairs of the world. A rigid and persevering abstinence from all interference with the domestic and political relations of other States, alike due to the genius and distinctive character of our Government and to the principles by which it is directed; a faithful observance, in the management of our foreign relations, of the practice of speaking plainly, dealing justly, and requiring truth and justice in return, as the best conservatives of the peace of nations; a strict impartiality in our manifestations of friendship, in the commercial privileges we concede, and those we require from others: these, accompanied by a disposition as prompt to maintain in every emergency, our own rights, as we are from principle averse to the invasion of those of others, have given to our country and government a standing in the great family of nations, of which we have just cause to be proud, and the advantages of which are experienced by our citizens throughout every portion of the earth to which their enterprising and adventurous spirit may carry them. Few, if any, remain insensible to the value of our friendship, or ignorant of the terms on which it can be acquired, and by which it can alone be preserved.

A series of questions of long standing, difficult in their adjustment, and important in their consequences, in which the rights of our citizens and the honor of the country were deeply involved, have, in the course of a few years, (the most of them during the successful administration of my immediate predecessor,) been brought to a satisfactory conclusion; and the most important of those remaining are, I am happy to believe, in a fair way of being speedily and satisfactorily adjusted.

With all the Powers of the world our relations are those of honorable peace. Since your adjournment, nothing serious has occurred to interrupt or threaten this desirable harmony. If clouds have lowered above the other hemisphere, they have not cast their portentous shadows upon our happy shores. Bound by no entangling alliances, yet linked by a common nature and interest with the other nations of mankind, our aspirations are for the preservation of peace, in whose solid and civilizing triumphs all may participate in a generous emulation. Yet it behooves us to be prepared for any event, and to be always ready to maintain those just and enlightened principles of national intercourse, for which this Government has ever contended. In the shock of contending empires it is only by assuming a resolute bearing, and clothing themselves with defensive armor, that neutral nations can maintain their independent rights.

The excitement which grew out of the territorial controversy between the United States and Great Britain having in a great measure subsided, it is hoped that a favorable period is approaching for its final settlement. Both Governments must now be convinced of the dangers with which the question is fraught; and it must be their desire, as it is their interest, that this perpetual cause of irritation should be removed as speedily as practicable. In my last annual message you were informed that the proposition for a commission of exploration and survey promised by Great Britain had been received, and that a counter project, including also a provision for the certain and final adjustment of the limits in dispute, was then before the British Government for its consideration. The answer of that Government, accompanied by additional propositions of its own, was received, through its minister here, since your separation. These were promptly considered; such as were deemed correct in principle, and consistent with a due regard to the just rights of the United States and of the State of Maine, concurred in; and the reasons for dissenting from the residue, with an additional suggestion on our part, communicated by the Secretary of State to Mr. Fox. That minister not feeling himself sufficiently instructed upon some of the points raised in the discussion, felt it to be his duty to refer the matter to his own Government for its further decision. Having now been for some time under its advisement, a speedy answer may be confidently expected. From the character of the points still in difference, and the undoubted disposition of both parties to bring the matter to an early conclusion, I look with entire confidence to a prompt and satisfactory termination of the negotiation. Three commissioners were appointed shortly after the adjournment of Congress, under the act of the last session providing for the exploration and survey of the line which separates the States of Maine and New Hampshire from the British Provinces; they have been actively employed until their progress was interrupted by the inclemency of the season, and will resume their labors as soon as practicable in the ensuing year.

It is understood that their respective examinations will throw new light upon the subject in controversy, and serve to remove any erroneous impressions which may have been made elsewhere prejudicial to the rights of the United States. It was, among other reasons, with a view of preventing the embarrassments which, in our peculiar system of government, impede and complicate negotiations involving the territorial rights of a State, that I thought it my duty, as you have been informed on a previous occasion, to propose to the British Government, through its minister at Washington, that early steps should be taken to adjust the points of difference on the line of boundary from the entrance of Lake Superior to the most northwestern point of the Lake of the Woods, by the arbitration of a friendly Power, in conformity with the seventh article of the treaty of Ghent. No answer has yet been returned by the British Government to this proposition.

With Austria, France, Prussia, Russia, and the remaining Powers of Europe, I am happy to inform you our relations continue to be of the most friendly character. With Belgium, a treaty of commerce and navigation, based upon liberal principles of reciprocity and equality, was concluded in March last, and, having been ratified by the Belgian Government, will be duly laid before the Senate. It is a subject of congratulation that it provides for the satisfactory adjustment of a long standing question of controversy; thus removing the only obstacle which could obstruct the friendly and mutually advantageous intercourse between the two nations. A messenger has been dispatched with the Hanoverian treaty to Berlin, where, according to stipulation, the ratifications are to be exchanged. I am happy to announce to you that, after many delays and difficulties, a treaty of commerce and navigation, between the United States and Portugal, was concluded and signed at Lisbon, on the 26th of August last, by the plenipotentiaries of the two Governments. Its stipulations are founded upon those principles of mutual liberality and advantage which the United States have always sought to make the basis of their intercourse with foreign Powers, and it is hoped they will tend to foster and strengthen the commercial intercourse of the two countries.

Under the appropriation of the last session of Congress, an agent has been sent to Germany, for the purpose of promoting the interests of our tobacco-trade.

The commissioners appointed under the convention for the adjustment of claims of citizens of the United States upon Mexico having met and organized at Washington, in August last, the papers in the possession of the Government, relating to those claims, were communicated to the Board. The claims not embraced by that convention are now the subject of negociation between the two Governments, through the medium of our minister at Mexico.

Nothing has occurred to disturb the harmony of our relations with the different Governments of South America. I regret, however, to be obliged to inform you that the claims of our citizens upon the late Republic of Colombia have not yet been satisfied by the separate Governments into which it has been resolved.

The charge d'affairs of Brazil having expressed the intention of his Government not to prolong the treaty of 1828, it will cease to be obligatory upon either party on the 12th day of December, 1841, when the extensive commercial intercourse between the United States and that vast empire will no longer be regulated by express stipulations.

It affords me pleasure to communicate to you that the Government of Chili has entered into an agreement to indemnify the claimants in the case of the Macedonian, for American property seized in 1819; and to add, that information has also been received which justifies the hope of an early adjustment of the remaining claims upon that Government.

The commissioners appointed in pursuance of the convention between the United States and Texas, for marking the boundary between them, have, according to the last report received from our commissioner, surveyed and established the whole extent of the boundary north along the western bank of the Sabine river, from its entrance into the Gulf of Mexico to the thirty-second degree of north latitude. The commission adjourned on the 16th of June last, to reassemble on the 1st of November, for the purpose of establishing accurately the intersection of the thirty-second degree of latitude with the western bank of the Sabine, and the meridian line thence to Red river. It is presumed that the work will be concluded in the present season.

The present sound condition of their finances, and the success with which embarrassments in regard to them, at times apparently insurmountable, have been overcome, are matters upon which the people and Government of the United States may well congratulate themselves. An overflowing treasury, however it may be regarded as an evidence of public prosperity, is seldom conducive to the permanent welfare of any people; and experience has demonstrated its incompatibility with the salutary action of political institutions like those of the United States. Our safest reliance for financial efficiency and independence has, on the contrary, been found to consist in ample resources unencumbered with debt; and, in this respect, the Federal Government occupies a singularly fortunate and truly enviable position.

When I entered upon the discharge of my official duties in March, 1837, the act for the distribution of the surplus revenue was in a course of rapid execution. Nearly twenty-eight millions of dollars of the public moneys were, in pursuance of its provisions, deposited with the States in the months of January, April and July, of that year. In May there occurred a general suspension of specie pay nents by the banks, including, with a very few exceptions, those in which the public moneys were deposited, and upon whose fidelity the Government had unfortunately made itself dependent for the revenues which had been collected from the people, and were indispensable to the public service. This suspension, and the excess in banking and commerce out of which it arose, and which were greatly aggravated by its occurrence, made, to a great extent, unavailable the principal part of the public money then on hand; suspended the collection of many millions accruing on merchants' bonds; and greatly reduced the revenue arising from customs and the public lands. These effects have continued to operate, in various degrees, to the present period; and, in addition to the decrease in the revenue thus produced, two and a half millions of duties have been relinquished by two biennial reductions under the act of 1833, and probably as much more upon the importation of iron for rail roads, by special legislation.

Whilst such has been our condition for the last four years in relation to revenue, we have, during the same period, been subjected to an unavoidable continuance of large extraordinary expenses necessarily growing out of past transactions, and which could not be immediately arrested without great prejudice to the public interest. Of these, the charge upon the Treasury, in consequence of the Cherokee treaty alone, without adverting to others arising out of Indian treaties, has already exceeded five millions of dollars; that for the prosecution of measures for the removal of the Seminole Indians, which were found in progress, has been nearly fourteen millions; and the public buildings have required the unusual sum of nearly three millions.

It affords me, however, great pleasure to be able to say, that, from the commencement of this period to the present day, every demand upon the Government, at home or abroad, has been promptly met. This has been done, not only without creating a permanent debt, or a resort to additional taxation in any form, but in the midst of a steadily progressive reduction of existing burdens upon the people, leaving still a considerable balance of available funds which will remain in the Treasury at the end of the year. The small amount of Treasury notes, not exceeding four and a half millions of dollars, still outstanding, and less by twenty-three millions than the United States have in deposite with the States, is composed of such only as are not yet due, or have not been presented for payment. They may be redeemed out of the accruing revenue, if the expenditures do not exceed the amount within which they may, it is thought, be kept without prejudice to the public interest, and the revenue shall prove to be as large as may be justly anticipated.

Among the reflections arising from the contemplation of these circumstances, one, not the least gratifying, is the consciousness that the Government had the resolution and the ability to adhere in every emergency, to the sacred obligations of law; to execute all its contracts according to the requirements of the constitution; and thus to present, when most needed, a rallying-point by which the business of the whole country might be brought back to a safe and unvarying standard—a result vitally important as well to the interests as to the morals of the people. There can surely now be no difference of opinion in regard to the incalculable evils that would have arisen if the Government, at that critical moment, had suffered itself to be deterred from upholding the only true standard of value, either by the pressure of adverse circumstances or the violence of unmerited denunciation. The manner in which the people sustained the performance of this duty was highly honorable to their fortitude and patriotism. It cannot fail to stimulate their agents to adhere, under all circumstances, to the line of duty; and to satisfy them of the safety with which a course really right, and demanded by a financial crisis, may, in a community like ours, be pursued, however apparently severe its immediate operation.

The policy of the Federal Government, in extinguishing as rapidly as possible the national debt, and subsequently, in resisting every temptation to create a new one, deserves to be regarded in the same favorable light. Among the many objections to a national debt, the certain tendency of public securities to concentrate ultimately in the coffers of foreign stockholders, is one which is every day gathering strength. Already have the resources of many of the states, and the future industry of their citizens, been indefinitely mortgaged to the subjects of European governments, to the amount of twelve millions annually, to pay the constantly accruing interest on borrowed money—a sum exceeding half the ordinary revenues of the whole United States. The pretext which this relation affords to foreigners to scrutinize the management of our domestic affairs, if not actually to intermeddle with them, presents a subject for earnest attention, not to say of serious alarm. Fortunately, the federal government, with the exception of an obligation entered into on behalf of the District of Columbia, which must soon be discharged, is wholly exempt from any such embarrassment. It is also, as is believed, the only government which having fully and faithfully paid all its creditors, has also relieved itself entirely from debt. To maintain a distinction so desirable, and so honorable to our national character, should be an object of earnest solicitude. Never should a free people, if it be possible to avoid it, expose themselves to the necessity of having to treat of the peace, the honor, or the safety of the republic, with the governments of foreign creditors, who, however well disposed they may be to cultivate with us in general friendly relations, are nevertheless, by the law of their own condition, made hostile to the success and permanency of political institutions like ours.

Most humiliating may be the embarrassments consequent upon such a condition. Another objection, scarcely less formidable, to the commencement of a new debt, is its inevitable tendency to increase in magnitude, and to foster national extravagance. He has been an unprofitable observer of events, who needs at this day to be admonished of the difficulties which a government, habitually dependent on loans to sustain its ordinary expenditures, has to encounter in resisting the influences constantly exerted in favor of additional loans; by capitalists, who enrich themselves by government securities for amounts much exceeding the money they actually advance—a prolific source of individual aggrandizement in all borrowing countries; by stockholders, who seek their gains in the rise and fall of public stocks; and by the selfish importunities of applicants for appropriations for works avowedly for the accommodation of the public, but the real objects of which are, too frequently, the advancement of private interests. The known necessity which so many of the States will be under to impose taxes for the payment of the interest on their debts, furnishes an additional and very cogent reason why the federal government should refrain from creating a national debt, by which the people would be exposed to double taxation for a similar object. We possess within ourselves ample resources for every emergency; and we may be quite sure that our citizens, in no future exigency, will be unwilling to supply the government with all the means asked for the defence of the country. In time of peace there can, at all events, be no justification for the creation of a permanent debt by the federal government. Its limited range of constitutional duties may certainly, under such circumstances, be performed without such a resort. It has, it is seen, been avoided during four years of greater fiscal difficulties than have existed in a similar period since the adoption of the constitution, and one also remarkable for the occurrence of extraordinary causes of expenditure.

But, to accomplish so desirable an object, two things are indispensable: first, that the action of the federal government be kept within the boundaries prescribed by its founders; and, secondly, that all appropriations for objects admitted to be constitutional, and the expenditure of them also, be subjected to a standard of rigid but well considered and practical economy. The first depends chiefly on the people themselves, the opinions they form of the true construction of the constitution, and the confidence they repose in the political sentiments of those they select as their representatives in the federal legislature; the second rests upon the fidelity with which their more immediate representatives, and other public functionaries, discharge the trusts committed to them. The duty of economising the expenses of the public service is admitted on all hands: yet there are few subjects upon which there exists a wider difference of opinion than is constantly manifested in regard to the fidelity with which that duty is discharged. Neither diversity of sentiment, nor even mutual recriminations, upon a point in respect to which the public mind is so justly sensitive, can well be entirely avoided; and least so at periods of great political excitement. An intelligent people, however, seldom fail to arrive, in the end, at correct conclusions in such a matter. Practical economy in the management of public affairs can have no adverse influence to contend with more powerful than a large surplus revenue: and the unusually large appropriations for 1837 may, without doubt, independently of the extraordinary requisitions for the public service growing out of the state of our Indian relations, be, in no inconsiderable degree, traced to this source. The sudden and rapid distribution of the large surplus then in the treasury, and the equally sudden and unprecedentedly severe revulsion in the commerce and business of the country, pointing with unerring certainty to a great and protracted reduction of the revenue, strengthened the propriety of the earliest practicable reduction of the public expenditures.

But, to change a system operating upon so large a surface, and applicable to such numerous and diversified interests and objects, was more than the work of a day. The attention of every department of the government was immediately, and in good faith, directed to that end; and has been so continued to the present moment. The estimates and appropriations for the year 1838, (the first over which I had any control,) were somewhat diminished. The expenditures of 1839 were reduced $6,000,000. Those of 1840, exclusive of disbursements for public debt and trust claims, will probably not exceed twenty-two and a half millions; being between two and three millions less than those of the preceding year, and nine or ten millions less than those of 1837. Nor has it been found necessary, in order to produce this result, to resort to the power conferred by Congress, of postponing certain classes of the public works, except by deferring expenditures for a short period upon a limited portion of them; and which postponement terminated some time since, at the moment the treasury department, by further receipts from the indebted banks, became fully assured of its ability to meet them without prejudice to the public service in other respects. Causes are in operation which will, it is believed, justify a still further reduction, without injury to any important national interest. The expenses of sustaining the troops employed in Florida have been gradually and greatly reduced, through the persevering efforts of the War Department; and a reasonable hope may be entertained that the necessity for military operations in that quarter will soon cease. The removal of the Indians from within our settled borders is nearly completed. The pension list, one of the heaviest charges upon the treasury, is rapidly diminishing by death. The most costly of our public buildings are either finished, or nearly so; and we may, I think, safely promise ourselves a continued exemption from border difficulties.

The available balance in the treasury on the 1st of January next is estimated at $1,500,000. This sum, with the expected receipts from all sources during the next year, will, it is believed, be sufficient to enable the government to meet every engagement, and leave a suitable balance in the treasury at the end of the year, if the remedial measures connected with the customs and the public lands, heretofore recommended, shall be adopted, and the new appropriations by Congress shall not carry the expenditures beyond the official estimates.

The new system established by Congress for the safe keeping of the public money, prescribing the kind of currency to be received for the public revenue, and providing additional guards and securities against losses, has now been several months in operation. Although it might be premature, upon an experience of such limited duration, to form a definite opinion in regard to the extent of its influences in correcting many evils under which the federal government and the country have hitherto suffered—especially those that have grown out of banking expansions, a depreciated currency, and official defalcations; yet it is but right to say that nothing has occurred in the practical operation of the system to weaken in the slightest degree, but much to strengthen the confident anticipations of its friends. The grounds of these have been heretofore so fully explained as to require no recapitulation. In respect to the facility and convenience it affords in conducting the public service, and the ability of the government to discharge through its agency every duty attendant on the collection, transfer, and disbursement of the public money with promptitude and success, I can say, with confidence, that the apprehensions of those who felt it to be their duty to oppose its adoption, have proved to be unfounded. On the contrary, this branch of the fiscal affairs of the government has been, and it is believed may always be, thus carried on with every desirable facility and security. A few changes and improvements in the details of the system, without affecting any principles involved in it, will be submitted to you by the Secretary of the Treasury, and will, I am sure, receive at your hands that attention to which they may, on examination, be found to be entitled.

I have deemed this brief summary of our fiscal affairs necessary to the due performance of a duty specially enjoined upon me by the constitution. It will serve, also to illustrate more fully the principles by which I have been guided in reference to two contested points in our public policy, which were earliest in their development, and have been more important in their consequences, than any that have arisen under our complicated and difficult, yet admirable, system of government; I allude to a national debt, and a national bank. It was in these that the political contests by which the country has been agitated ever since the adoption of the constitution, in a great measure, originated; and there is too much reason to apprehend that the conflicting interests and opposing principles thus marshalled, will continue, as heretofore, to produce similar, if not aggravated, consequences.

Coming into office the declared enemy of both, I have earnestly endeavored to prevent a resort to either.

The consideration that a large public debt affords an apology, and produces, in some degree, a necessity also, for resorting to a system and extent of taxation which is not only oppressive throughout, but likewise so apt to lead, in the end, to the commission of that most odious of all offences against the principles of republican government—the prostitution of political power, conferred for the general benefit, to the aggrandizement of particular classes, and the gratification of individual cupidity—is alone sufficient, independently of the weighty objections which have already been urged, to render its creation and existence the sources of bitter and unappeasable discord. If we add to this, its inevitable tendency to produce and foster extravagant expenditures of the public money, by which a necessity is created for new loans and new burdens on the people; and, finally, if we refer to the examples of every government which has existed, for proof, how seldom it is that the system, when once adopted and implanted in the policy of a country, has failed to expend itself, until public credit was exhausted, and the people were no longer able to endure its increasing weight, it seems impossible to resist the conclusion, that no benefits resulting from its career, no extent of conquest, no accession of wealth to particular classes, nor any, nor all its combined advantages, can counterbalance its ultimate but certain results—a splendid government, and an impoverished people.

If a national bank was, as is undeniable, repudiated by the framers of the constitution as incompatible with the rights of the States and the liberties of the people; if, from the beginning, it has been regarded by large portions of our citizens as coming in direct collision with that great and vital amendment of the constitution, which declares that all powers not conferred by that instrument on the General Government are reserved to the States and to the people; if it has been viewed by them as the first great step in the march of latitudinous construction, which, unchecked, would render that sacred instrument of as little value as an unwritten constitution, dependent, as it would alone be, for its meaning, on the interested interpretation of a dominant party, and affording no security to the rights of the minority; if such is undeniably the case, what rational grounds could have been conceived for anticipating aught but determined opposition to such an institution at the present day?

Could a different result have been expected, when the consequences which have flowed from its creation, and particularly from its struggles to perpetuate its existence, had confirmed, in so striking a manner, the apprehensions of its earliest opponents; when it had been so clearly demonstrated that a concentrated money-power, wielding so vast a capital, and combining such incalculable means of influence, may, in those peculiar conjunctures to which this government is unavoidably exposed, prove an overmatch for the political power of the people themselves; when the true character of its capacity to regulate, according to its will and its interests, and the interests of its favorites, the value and production of the labor and property of every man in this extended country, had been so fully and fearfully developed; when it was notorious that all classes of this great community had, by means of the power and influence it thus possesses, been infected to madness with a spirit of heedless speculation; when it had been seen that, secure in the support of the combination of influences by which it was surrounded, it could violate its charter and set the laws at defiance with impunity; and when, too, it had become most apparent that to believe that such an accumulation of powers can ever be granted without the certainty of being abused, was to indulge in a fatal delusion?

To avoid the necessity of a permanent debt, and its inevitable consequences, I have advocated, and endeavored to carry into effect, the policy of confining the appropriations for the public service to such objects only as are clearly within the constitutional authority of the federal government; of excluding from its expenses those improvident and unauthorized grants of public money for works of internal improvement, which were so wisely arrested by the constitutional interposition of my predecessor, and which, if they had not been so checked, would long before this time have involved the finances of the General Government in embarrassments far greater than those which are now experienced by any of the States; of limiting all our expenditures to that simple, unostentatious, and economical administration of public affairs, which is alone consistent with the character of our institutions; of collecting annually from the customs, and the sales of public lands, a revenue fully adequate to defray all the expenses thus incurred, but, under no pretence whatsoever, to impose taxes upon the people to a greater amount than was actually necessary to the public service, conducted upon the principles I have stated.

In lieu of a national bank, or a dependence upon banks of any description, for the management of our fiscal affairs, I recommended the adoption of the system which is now in successful operation. That system affords every requisite facility for the transaction of the pecuniary concerns of the government; will, it is confidently anticipated, produce in other respects many of the benefits which have been from time to time expected from the creation of a national bank, but which have never been realized; avoid the manifold evils inseparable from such an institution; diminish, to a greater extent than could be accomplished by any other measure of reform, the patronage of the federal government—a wise policy in all governments, but more especially so in one like ours, which works well only in proportion as it is made to rely for its support upon the unbiassed and unadulterated opinions of its constituents; do away, forever, all dependence on corporate bodies, either in the raising, collecting, safe-keeping, or disbursing the public revenues; and place the government equally above the temptation of fostering a dangerous and unconstitutional institution at home, or the necessity of adapting its policy to the views and interests of a still more formidable money-power abroad.

It is by adopting and carrying out these principles, under circumstances the most arduous and discouraging, that the attempt has been made, thus far successfully, to demonstrate to the people of the United States that a national bank at all times, and a national debt, except it be incurred at a period when the honor and safety of the nation demand the temporary sacrifice of a policy which should only be abandoned in such exigencies, are not merely unnecessary, but in direct and deadly hostility to the principles of their government, and to their own permanent welfare.

The progress made in the development of these positions, appears in the preceding sketch of the past history and present state of the financial concerns of the federal government. The facts there stated fully authorize the assertion, that all the purposes for which this government was instituted have been accomplished during four years of greater pecuniary embarrassment than were ever before experienced in time of peace, and in the face of opposition as formidable as any that was ever before arrayed against the policy of an administration; that this has been done when the ordinary revenues of the government were generally decreasing, as well from the operation of the laws, as the condition of the country, without the creation of a permanent public debt, or incurring any liability, other than such as the ordinary resources of the government will speedily discharge, and without the agency of a national bank.

If this view of the proceedings of the government, for the period it embraces, be warranted by the facts as they are known to exist; if the army and navy have been sustained to the full extent authorized by law, and which Congress deem sufficient for the defence of the country and the protection of its rights and its honor; if its civil and diplomatic service has been equally sustained; if ample provision has been made for the administration of justice and the execution of the laws; if the claims upon public gratitude in behalf of the soldiers of the Revolution have been promptly met, and faithfully discharged; if there have been no failures in defraying the very large expenditures growing out of that long-continued and salutary policy of peacefully removing the Indians to regions of comparative safety and prosperity; if the public faith has at all times, and every where, been most scrupulously maintained by a prompt discharge of the numerous, extended, and diversified claims on the Treasury;—if all these great and permanent objects, with many others that might be stated, have, for a series of years, marked by peculiar obstacles and difficulties, been successfully accomplished without a resort to a permanent debt, or the aid of a national bank; have we not a right to expect that a policy, the object of which has been to sustain the public service independently of either of these fruitful sources of discord, will receive the final sanction of a people whose unbiassed and fairly elicited judgment upon public affairs is never ultimately wrong?

That embarrassments in the pecuniary concerns of individuals of unexampled extent and duration, have recently existed in this as in any other commercial nation, is undoubtedly true. To suppose it necessary now to trace these reverses to their sources, would be a reflection on the intelligence of my fellow citizens. Whatever may have been the obscurity in which the subject was involved during the earlier stages of the revulsion, there cannot now be many by whom the whole question is not fully understood.

Not deeming it within the constitutional powers of the General Government to repair private losses sustained by reverses in business having no connexion with the public service, either by direct appropriations from the Treasury, or by special legislation designed to secure exclusive privileges and immunities to individuals or classes in preference to, and at the expense of, the great majority necessarily debarred from any participation in them, no attempt to do so has been either made, recommended, or encouraged, by the present Executive.

It is believed, however, that the great purposes for the attainment of which the Federal Government was instituted, have not been lost sight of. Intrusted only with certain limited powers, cautiously enumerated, distinctly specified, and defined with a precision and clearness which would seem to defy misconstruction, it has been my constant aim to confine myself within the limits so clearly marked out, and so carefully guarded. Having always been of opinion that the best perservative of the union of the States is to be found in a total abstinence from the exercise of all doubtful powers on the part of the Federal Government, rather than in attempts to assume them by a loose construction, of the constitution, or an ingenious perversion of its words, I have endeavored to avoid recommending any measure which I had reason to apprehend would in the opinion even of a considerable minority of my fellow citizens, be regarded as trenching on the rights of the States, or the provisions of the hallowed instrument of our Union. Viewing the aggregate powers of the Federal Government as a voluntary concession of the States, it seemed to me that such only should be exercised as were at the time intended to be given.

I have been strengthened, too, in the propriety of this course, by the conviction that all efforts to go beyond this, tend only to produce dissatisfaction and distrust, to excite jealousies, and to provoke resistance. Instead of adding strength to the Federal Government, even when successful, they must ever prove a source of incurable weakness, by alienating a portion of those whose adhesion is indispensable to the great aggregate of united strength, and whose voluntary attachment is, in my estimation, far more essential to the efficiency of a government strong in the best of all possible strength—the confidence and attachment of all those who make up its constituent elements.

Thus believing, it has been my purpose to secure to the whole people, and to every member of the confederacy, by general, salutary, and equal laws alone, the benefit of those republican institutions which it was the end and aim of the constitution to establish, and the impartial influence of which is, in my judgment, indispensable to their preservation. I cannot bring myself to believe that the lasting happiness of the people, the prosperity of the States, or the permanency of their Union, can be maintained by giving preference or priority to any class of citizens in the distribution of benefits or privileges, or by the adoption of measures which enrich one portion of the Union at the expense of another; nor can I see in the interference of the Federal Government with the local legislation and reserved rights of the States, a remedy for present, or security against future dangers.

The first, and assuredly not the least, important step towards relieving the country from the condition into which it has been plunged by excesses in trade, banking, and credits of all kinds, was to place the business transactions of Government itself on a solid basis; giving and receiving in all cases value for value and neither countenancing nor encouraging in others that delusive system of credits from which it has been found so difficult to escape, and which has left nothing behind it but the wrecks that mark its fatal career.

That the financial affairs of the Government are now, and have been during the whole period of these wide spreading difficulties, conducted with a strict and invariable regard to this great fundamental principle, and that by the assumption and maintenance of the stand thus taken on the very threshold of the approaching crisis, more than by any other cause or causes whatever, the community at large has been shielded from the incalculable evils of a general and indefinite suspension of specie payments and a consequent annihilation, for the whole period it might have lasted, of a just and invariable standard of value, will, it is believed, at this period, scarcely be questioned.

A steady adherence, on the part of the Government, to the policy which has produced such salutary results, aided by judicious State legislation, and, what is not less important, by the industry, enterprise perseverance, and economy of the American people, cannot fail to raise the whole country, at an early period, to a state of solid and enduring prosperity, not subject to be again overthrown by the suspension of banks or the explosion of a bloated credit system. It is for the people, and their representatives, to decide whether or not the permanent welfare of the country (which all good citizens equally desire, however widely they may differ as to the means of its accomplishment) shall be in this way secured; or whether the management of the pecuniary concerns of the Government, and, by consequence, to a great extent, those of individuals also, shall be carried back to a condition of things which fostered those contractions and expansions of the currency, and those reckless abuses of credit, from the baleful effects of which the country has so deeply suffered—a return that can promise, in the end, no better results than to reproduce the embarrassments the Government has experienced; and to remove from the shoulders of the present, to those of fresh victims, the bitter fruits of that spirit of speculative enterprise to which our countrymen are so liable, and upon which the lessons of experience are so unavailing. The choice is an important one, and I sincerely hope that it may be wisely made.

A report from the Secretary of War, presenting a detailed view of the affairs of that department, accompanies this communication.

The desultory duties connected with the removal of the Indians, in which the army has been constantly engaged on the northern and western frontiers, and in Florida, have rendered it impracticable to carry into full effect the plan recommended by the Secretary for improving its discipline. In every instance where the regiments have been concentrated, they have made great progress; and the best results may be anticipated from a continuance of this system. During the last season, a part of the troops have been employed in removing the Indians from the interior to the territory assigned them in the west—a duty which they have performed efficiently, and with praiseworthy humanity; and that portion of them which have been stationed in Florida, continued active operations there throughout the heats of summer.

The policy of the United States in regard to the Indians, of which a succinct account is given in my message of 1838, and of the wisdom and expediency of which I am fully satisfied, has been continued in active operation throughout the whole period of my administration. Since the Spring of 1837, more than forty thousand Indians have been removed to their new homes west of the Mississippi; and I am happy to add, that all accounts concur in representing the result of this measure as eminently beneficial to that people.

The emigration of the Seminoles alone has been attended with serious difficulty, and occasioned bloodshed; hostilities having been commenced by the Indians in Florida, under the apprehension that they would be compelled, by force to comply with their treaty stipulations. The execution of the treaty of Payne's Landing, signed in 1832, but not ratified until 1834, was postponed, at the solicitation of the Indians, until 1836, when they again renewed their agreement to remove peaceably to their new homes in the west. In the face of this solemn and renewed compact, they broke their faith, and commenced hostilities by the massacre of Major Dade's command, the murder of their agent General Thompson, and other acts of cruel treachery. When this alarming and unexpected intelligence reached the seat of Government, every effort appears to have been made to reinforce General Clinch, who commanded the troops then in Florida. General Eustis was despatched with reinforcements from Charleston; troops were called out from Alabama, Tennessee, and Georgia; and General Scott was sent to take the command, with ample power and ample means. At the first alarm, General Gaines organized a force at New Orleans, and without waiting for orders, landed in Florida, where he delivered over the troops he had brought with him to General Scott.

Governor Call was subsequently appointed to conduct a summer campaign, and, at the close of it was replaced by General Jessup. These events and changes took place under the administration of my predecessor. Notwithstanding the exertions of the experienced officers who had command there for eighteen months, on entering upon the administration of the Government I found the Territory of Florida a prey to Indian atrocities. A strenuous effort was immediately made to bring these hostilities to a close; and the army under General Jessup, was reinforced until it amounted to ten thousand men, and furnished with abundant supplies of every description. In this campaign a great number of the enemy were captured and destroyed; but the character of the contest only was changed. The Indians having been defeated in every engagement, dispersed in small bands throughout the country, and became an enterprising, formidable, and ruthless banditti. General Taylor, who succeeded General Jessup, used his best exertions to subdue them, and was seconded in his efforts by the officers under his command; but he, too, failed to protect the Territory from their depredations.

By an act of signal and cruel treachery, they broke the truce made with them by General Macomb, who was sent from Washington for the purpose of carrying into effect the expressed wishes of Congress, and have continued their devastations ever since. General Armistead, who was in Florida when General Taylor left the army, by permission, assumed the command, and, after active summer operations, was met by propositions for peace; and, from the fortunate coincidence of the arrival in Florida, at the same period, of a delegation from the Seminoles who are happily settled west of the Mississippi, and are now anxious to persuade their countrymen to join them there, hopes were for some time entertained that the Indians might be induced to leave the Territory without further difficulty. These hopes have proved fallacious, and hostilities have been renewed throughout the whole of the Territory. That this contest has endured so long, is to be attributed to causes beyond the control of the Government. Experienced generals have had the command of the troops; officers and soldiers have alike distinguished themselves for their activity, patience, and enduring courage; the army has been constantly furnished with supplies of every description; and we must look for the causes which have so long procrastinated the issue of the contest, in the vast extent of the theatre of hostilities, the almost insurmountable obstacles presented by the nature of the country, the climate, and the wily character of the savages.

The sites for marine hospitals on the rivers and lakes, which I was authorized to select and caused to be purchased, have all been designated; but the appropriation not proving sufficient, conditional arrangements only have been made for their acquisition. It is for Congress to decide, whether those conditional purchases shall be sanctioned, and the humane intentions of the law carried into full effect.

The navy, as will appear from the accompanying report of the Secretary, has been usefully and honorably employed in the protection of our commerce and citizens in the Mediterranean, and Pacific, on the coast of Brazil, and in the Gulf of Mexico. A small squadron, consisting of the frigate Constellation and the sloop-of-war Boston, under Commodore Kearney, is now on its way to the China and Indians seas, for the purpose of attending to our interests in that quarter; and Commander Aulick, in the sloop-of-war Yorktown, has been instructed to visit the Sandwich and Society Islands, the coasts of New Zealand and Japan, together with other ports and islands frequented by our whalehips, for the purpose of giving them countenance and protection, should they be required. Other smaller vessels have been, and still are, employed in prosecuting the surveys of the coast of the United States, directed by various acts of Congress; and those which have been completed will shortly be laid before you.

The exploring expedition, at the latest date, was preparing to leave the Bay of Islands, New Zealand, in further prosecution of objects which have, thus far, been successfully accomplished. The discovery of a new continent, which was first seen in latitude 66 2 south, longitude 154 27 east and afterwards in latitude 65

From the New-Yorker.

Freedom.

Who would reverse the glorious plan
Of Him who Freedom gave,
Who never made his creature Man
To be a crouching slave!
As chainless waves majestic roll,
When tempests sweep the sea,
So with a mind and deathless soul,
Man is and shall be free.

But yet cloud-cradled lightnings sleep,
And thunderbolts repose,
When millions slaughtered kindred weep
In agonizing woes;
And tyrants joy when Freedom dies,
And songs exulting sing,
While widows' wails and orphans' cries
Make vale and mountain ring.

Shall stern Oppression, wrapt in gloom,
Its purple course still run,
And make earth but a hopeless tomb
Revolving round the sun?
Forbid, great God of Truth and Grace!
Thine awful vengeance spare;
But speed the time when all our race
True happiness may share.

Immortal Freedom! stand thou forth—
Thy potent sceptre wield,
That it may be to moral worth
A buckler and a shield;
Let Virtue on thy standard shine,
And Truth, the fairest gem
That e'er was formed by Power Divine,
Adorn thy diadem.

Let Justice mark thy grand career,
Man's welfare be thine end,
That in his breast Care, Hope and Fear
Like rainbow hues may blend;
No more let ruffian hands profane
The temples thou hast built,
Nor yet thy sacred altars stain
With marks of scarlet guilt.

Thy blessings rich diffuse to all;
Let War's dread trumpet cease,
And Freemen gather at thy call
To welcome smiling Peace:
But while thy sons their fealty swear,
And round thy banner cling,
Let not Ambition worship there—
That would confusion bring.

Lands of the Earth! in love unite,
And bow to Reason's sway;
Then systems false, upheld by might,
Shall swiftly pass away;
No more shall rage the fearful storm
That drowns the world in blood,
For all mankind that day will form
One glorious brotherhood.

The First Snow-Storm.

As for the first wild flower,
In the early time of Spring—
As for the Summer shower,
When earth is languishing—
As for the rainbow's blending—
As for the day-star's glow—
I have watched for the descending
Of the Winter's virgin Snow.

It comes! on pinions airy
The gentle flakes alight,
Like the torn plumes of a fairy,
Or the fruit-tree blossoms white
And the frozen ground receiveth
The tribute with a thrill;
And the muffled air it cleaveth,
Is breathless, mute and still.

Why watch I thus the falling
Of the first November snow?
Because its mystic calling
Is the voice of Long ago!
Because it ever blendeth
With the memories of the boy—
Each flake, as it descendeth,
Enfolds a perished joy!

Oh, for those days when, rushing
Into the snowy air,
I felt the free, wild gushing
Of a spirit without care!
How through the drifts that whitened
Our window sills at home,
I dashed with heart unfrightened,
Like a dolphin through the foam!

And then the merry ringing
Of the sleigh-bells at the door,
And the winter evening, bringing
A thousand pleasures more!
And the dear friends who surrounded
My father's liberal hearth,
And the old songs that resounded,
And the hours of blameless mirth.

Alas, Snow of November!
These joys thou bring'st to me,
But bidd'st me, too, remember
That they no more shall be!—
That the freshness hath departed—
That the bloom for aye is gone—
That I am vacant-hearted,
In the bleak world alone!

From the 'Rose of Sharon.'

Hymn to the Waldenses.

BY MISS S. C. EDGARTON.

Come to the wooded mountain!
Come to the ruined tower!
Come to the wild-wood fountain!
Come to the lonely bower!
Wooded mountain,
Ruined tower,
Wildwood fountain,
Lonely bower;
Out from builded temples driven,
Here we praise the God of heaven.

God of the Christian, hear us!
Spirit of love divine,
Thou with that love be near us,
Here in thy sylvan shrine!
Father, hear us!
Love divine!
Be thou near us,
In our shrine!
Here we scorn the flame and sword,
Mighty in thy conquering word!

MISCELLANEOUS.

From Ireland.

Ireland has become the great sun of the Teetotal world. We look there for light, and we get it. We have just received, from some of our glorious friends there, the following beautiful illustration of drunkenness—written by one of their distinguished physicians, a Fellow of the Medical College, Dublin. The author is James Henry, M. D., and the printer is Richard D. Webb, and it is printed as beautifully as it is written. We wish our friends could see how anti-slavery Teetotal abstinence does up things in Dublin. But we cannot print the typography or the superb paper.

We cannot curtail "The Drunken Sea." Our readers will want to make the *whole* voyage of reading it at a trip. And let us see to it that Americans leave off, *totally*, all navigation of that sea—remembering that death and hell are its only ports, and that fair weather on it is nothing but storm and tempest and wreck in disguise.

An Account of the Drunken Sea.

Nothing can exceed the beauty of the Drunken Sea from the beach of Soberland, where you take shipping, as far as Point Just-Enough. The clear and smooth water is scarcely so much as rippled by the light breeze which wafts from the shore the fragrance of a thousand flowers. No mist ever broods upon the water, no cloud overcasts the soft blue sky. The glorious image of the sun by day, the silvery face of the moon by night, are no where seen to so much advantage as in the mirror of Pleasant Bay, for so this part of the Drunken Sea has been most appropriately named. The current being always towards Point Just-Enough, and the wind, if you can apply that name to the gentle breath which no more than fills our sails, always in the same direction, the passage is so smooth and easy that it not unfrequently happens that the voyager finds himself close upon the Point almost before he is aware that he has left Soberland.

The voyage is usually performed in boats made out of porter hogsheads, or wine pipes, or spirit puncheons. It is astonishing what excellent sailing boats these vessels make when divided longitudinally, and furnished with sails and oars. Riches having the advantage every where, upon the Drunken Sea as well as upon land, the boats which are used by the rich are much more elegant, easy, and commodious, although perhaps not faster sailers than those which are used by the poor. Besides the fares there are certain tolls payable by all persons who sail upon the Drunken Sea. These tolls are so considerable as to form a principal part of the revenues of some of the imperial governments of Soberland. Notwithstanding the expense which is thus necessarily attendant upon sailing on the Drunken Sea, the number of persons, rich and poor, who sail upon it, exceeds all calculation; the rich paying the expense out of their superfluities, the poor out of their necessaries. Some, however, insist that in the end the poor bear the whole expense, and pay out of their necessaries for the rich man's voyage as well as their own.

The voyage to the Point Just-Enough becomes more and more agreeable the nearer you approach the Point. The air becomes still more delicious, and even the sombre objects of Soberland, now somewhat in the distance, seem to acquire a certain mellowness and splendor from the new medium through which they are seen. In the meantime a corresponding change takes place in the passengers themselves; they experience an agreeable sensation of warmth, commencing at the stomach and gradually extending from thence over the whole body; their pulse beats quicker and stronger; their breath acquires an agreeable odor, not unlike that of the sea on which they sail; their eyes become brighter and softer, and sometimes even seem to sparkle; their cheeks flush a little; their hands are sensibly warmer to the touch; their looks and gestures become animated; they feel increased strength and courage and readiness for action; their ideas succeed each other with greater rapidity and vivacity, and are a little less obedient to the will; they become less careful and anxious

Diffugiunt mordaces sollicitudines;

less precise and particular; regard themselves with more complacence, their neighbors with more charity; gentlemen become less solicitous about the seat of their cravats; ladies of their caps and collars: all become less serious; less disposed to deliberate; less inclined to prayer, or any other solemn religious duty; less scrupulous about right and wrong; less tight-laced; not so very sober; more gay, good-humored, frolicsome, frivolous; more inclined to singing, jesting, and light conversation; more voluble, energetic; more ready to tell secrets, either of their own or their neighbors; more inclined to quarrel suddenly.

All the voyagers to Point Just-Enough agree in the account which they give of their passage across Pleasant Bay, and of the agreeable sensations experienced on approaching the Point; but they disagree very much in their statements respecting the Point itself; some say that it is further off, others that it is nearer; some that it lies more to the north, others more to the east; many assert that it recedes as you approach it, while some maintain that it moves forward, and comes to meet you before you have more than half crossed Pleasant Bay. These conflicting statements may, perhaps, be reconciled on the supposition, which seems far from unreasonable, that Point Just-Enough is situated in a floating island, which, shifting its position from time to time, is sometimes nearer, sometimes more distant; sometimes a little more to the north, at other times a little more to the east. However this may be, the visitors to Point Just-Enough all agree in stating that it is quite impossible either to come to anchor off it, or to effect a landing upon it; the water being so deep that no anchor will take the ground, and the current so rapid as to carry you past the Point before you can secure a boat to it by any grapples which have yet been invented. For these reasons all skillful sailors, the moment they arrive at Point Just-Enough, instead of vainly attempting to come to anchor or to land, tack about and steer back again across Pleasant Bay for Soberland, thus avoiding the danger of being carried by the force of the current further on into the Drunken Sea, and perhaps thrown upon an island called Tipsy Island, lying at no great distance to the leeward.

The great unwillingness with which all the visitors to Point Just-Enough allow the sailors to tack about and steer homewards, has given rise to an opinion that if a landing upon the Point were practicable, every visitor would settle there permanently, and bid an eternal farewell to Soberland.

The voyage homewards from Point Just-Enough is much less agreeable than the voyage outwards; the air gradually loses its balminess, and the landscape its brilliant colors; the current and wind, too, although gentle, yet being against you, make it necessary to tack, and thus render the passage tedious. There are few who do not experience as they return some diuretic effect as well as a slight degree of thirst, the latter of which continues after landing, and even until bed-time, unless removed by tea or coffee. The night's sleep is less soft and refreshing, but at the same time heavier than if no visit had been paid to the Point in the day; and on awaking the next morning, a degree of languor is experienced, and sometimes even a little throbbing at the temples, which symptoms, however, disappear either during the making of the toilette or soon after breakfast, and are succeeded by a strong desire for another voyage to Point Just-Enough. This desire being gratified with as little delay as possible, the same sensations are experienced, and the same consequences ensue, and thus a habit is formed which increases in strength, until at last a daily visit to Point Just-Enough comes to be considered almost as a necessary of life.

Pleasant Bay is therefore covered from early morning until a late hour at night with boats conveying passengers of all ranks and descriptions to Point Just-Enough and back again. The intercourse is however by far the greatest from dinner hour until tea time, the evening being generally considered the most fashionable as well as the most convenient and agreeable time for the voyage. Some dine before they set out, but the greater number take their dinner on board. Among the visitors to Point Just-Enough there are a few who go very irregularly and at long intervals, others who go only every second or third day, and some only on the Sabbath day; but the greater majority, unless prevented by illness, go every day of the year at the same hour, and never allow either business or pleasure, or even bankruptcy or insolvency, or trouble or the death of friends or relatives, to interrupt the regularity of their daily sail across Pleasant Bay. Kings and queens, lords, and ladies, knights and members of imperial legislatures, professors of all arts and sciences, merchants, traders, artisans, and even those who subsist upon charity, are to be found among the daily visitors to Point Just-Enough; the christian, the Jew and the pagan; the white, the black and the olive;—the democrat, leveller and aristocrat; the busy as well as the idle, the wise as well as the foolish, the learned as well as the ignorant, the grave as well as the gay, the young as well as the old. Parents bring their children with them and teach them to navigate the Drunken Sea, as birds teach their young to fly. Employers bring their workmen, and masters their servants; the latter, however, require but little teaching, having generally had the advantage of an early apprenticeship to the art.

It is worthy of remark, that of the countless multitudes who daily sail upon Pleasant Bay, there is not one who can be persuaded that it forms a part of the Drunken Sea. It is also remarkable, that every one of those who make a daily practice of sailing upon this bay, acquires an invincible dread of water, and cannot be prevailed upon to drink it unless when sick.

It has been observed besides, that with the exception of man, all animals have an antipathy to the Drunken Sea, and cannot, without great difficulty, be persuaded to navigate even that part of it called Pleasant Bay. From this fact some naturalists have deduced a distinctive character of man, and instead of describing him as an animal, erect, biped, rational, with teeth intermediate between graminivorous and carnivorous, define him simply, an animal which sails upon the Drunken Sea.

The longitude and latitude of Point Just-Enough never having been exactly ascertained, either from its being situated, as already mentioned, in a floating island, or whatever other cause, geographers have found it very difficult to assign the precise limits of Pleasant Bay. It is, perhaps, to get rid of this difficulty, that some geographers describe Pleasant Bay as extending the whole way from Soberland to Tipsy Island. But whether it be or be not geographically correct to apply the name of Pleasant Bay to that part of the Drunken Sea which lies between Point Just-Enough and Tipsy Island, it is quite certain that there is no part of this sea where the sky is so bright, the air so fresh and exhilarating, or the motion of the water so lively and buoyant, as it is here. It happens, therefore, as might be expected, that many of those who leave Soberland, with the intention of going no farther than Point Just-Enough, do yet, when they arrive at that point, extend their voyage to Tipsy Island, tempted by the increasing beauty of the scene, the favoring wind and current, and the easy landing which the shore of the island presents at no great distance. Besides those who thus voluntarily extend their voyage from Point Just-Enough to Tipsy Island, there are others who, over-shooting the Point either through ignorance or inadvertence, miss stays in their attempt to tack, and are carried to the island by the force of the wind and current.

As it generally happens that those who have once visited Tipsy Island in either of the ways just mention, soon return to it again, direct from Soberland, and repeat their visits with great regularity during the remainder of their lives, Tipsy Island is always full of visitors. The sensations experienced on this island differ only in degree from those which are felt at Point Just-Enough. The pulse and heart beat a little quicker and stronger, the eyes become brighter, the skin hotter, the face more flushed, the voice louder, the gestures more vehement, the conversation less connected, the ideas rambling and incoherent. Some dance, some sing, some swear, some fight, all stagger about: some become loyal, others patriotic, some poetical, others philosophical; all are veracious, disinterested, magnanimous, chivalrous. It is usual to remain several hours, and even to pass the night upon the island. A few remain upon it for several days together; but as it is considered discreditable to be seen upon it in the morning, those who regard appearances usually leave for Soberland some time before day-break; many fall asleep on the island, and are carried in that state to their boats. In the morning all awake unrefreshed, with a parched mouth, hot skin, red eyes, aching head, and no appetite for breakfast, and spend the day drinking soda water at the great fountain on the quay of Soberland, which looks towards Pleasant Bay, and longing for evening in order to return to Tipsy Island, or at least as far as Point Just-Enough.

Tipsy Island is said to have been first discovered by Noah, who planted vines upon it. It was afterwards sacred to Bacchus, whose temple, situated about the middle of the island, is in a high state of perservation. It has been visited by Alexander the Great, and most of the illustrious men both of ancient and modern times, the names of many of whom are to be seen, carved with their own hands, upon the barks of the vines; one of the most recent is that of Sir Walter Scott,* underneath which are some words of the song which the illustrious author of Waverly used to sing when he visited this island:—

Tarry woo,' Tarry woo',
Tarry woo' is all to spin;
Card it weel, card it weel,
Card it weel ere ye begin.

The author of Waverly was, however, only an occasional visitor to this island. Its daily visitors sing a song which is somewhat different, and runs nearly as follows:—

The Sea, the Sea, the Drunken Sea;
The blue, the fresh, the ever free, the ever free.
Without a mark, without a bound,
It runneth the earth's wide region round;
It plays with the soul, it mocks the skies,
Or like a cradled monster lies.
Or like a cradled monster lies,
I'm on the sea, the Drunken Sea;
I am where I would ever be,
With heaven above, and hell below,
And ruin whereso'er I go.
If a storm should come, and awake the deep,
What matter, what matter, I should ride and sleep.
What matter, what matter, I should ride and sleep.

I love, oh how I love! to ride, to ride
On the fierce, foaming, maddening tide;
When every wild wave drowns the moon,
Or whistles aloft its tempest tune;
And tells of Soberland far below,
And how on the Horrors the storm doth blow.
And how on the Horrors the storm doth blow.
I never was on the Sober shore,
But I loved the Drunk Sea more and more,
And backwards flew to her billowy breast,
Like a bird that seeketh its mother's nest.
And a mother she was, and is to me,
For I was born, was born on the Drunken Sea.
The waves were white, and red the morn,
In the noisy hour, in the noisy hour, when I was born;
The storm it whistled, the thunder rolled,
And the lightning seamed the skies with gold.
And never was heard such an outcry wild,
As welcomed to life the Drunk Sea's child.
As welcomed to life the Drunk Sea's child.
I have lived since then in calm and strife,
Full fifty summers a jovial life,
With wealth to spend and a power to range,
And never have sought or sighed for change;
And death, whenever he comes to me,
Shall come, shall come, on the Drunken Sea,
Shall come, shall come, on the Drunken Sea.

All navy and regimental messes are held upon this island, and there is no part of the world where the point of honor is so strictly observed, or so many duels fought. It is here that White Bait and other ministerial dinners, election treats, Lord Mayors' feasts, and Sheriffs' breakfasts are given. Barristers always dine here when on circuit, and medical consultations are sometimes held here. Great discussions on religion and politics take place here, and many of the most famous speeches of members of imperial legislatures have been composed, and not a few of them delivered in this place. There are several magnificent race-courses on the island, and gaming tables on new and improved principles. It is also the favorite resort of pirates and smugglers, robbers, burglars, and murderers, who have performed some of their most famous exploits upon it. As there is no church nor other place of religious worship on this island, none but the most abandoned are seen upon it during church hour on the Sabbath day; soon after church hour the boats begin to arrive, and continue arriving until a late hour on the Sabbath night.

It is impossible to mistake the habitual visitors of Tipsy Island, when you meet them any where in Soberland; their hands tremulous; their eyes muddy; those parts of their faces which should be white are red, and those parts which should be red, and particularly their lips, are blue and purple; they are consumed by an unquenchable internal heat and thirst; have little or no appetite for solid food; are infirm in their gait, either attenuated or bloated in their form, fretful, timid, irresolute of purpose, apprehensive of evil, and have no disposition for useful and active exertion, nor any taste for virtuous society or intellectual enjoyment. Ten thousand millions of money are annually expended in loss of time upon the Drunken Sea and Tipsy Island, paying the tolls and fares, manufacturing porter hogsheads, spirit puncheons, and wine pipes; and supporting workhouses, jails, penitentiaries and policemen, stipendiary magistrates, penal settlements, police commissioners and dispensaries, hospitals, and lunatic asylums for the use of the visitors of Tipsy Island.

Over against the Tipsy Island, on the main-land, and about a league beyond Point Just-Enough, is the port of Paphos. Many of the boats touch here as they return from the island. Malaria is prevalent in this port. The hospital, which is a very large building, and always full of patients, is situated on a hill immediately above the port, and commands a fine view of the Drunken Sea.

Off Tipsy Island, on the side furthest from Paphos, are three sunken rocks called the Horrors. The visitors to Tipsy Island are frequently dashed on these rocks by an eddy or whirlpool which surrounds them, and sucks in every boat that comes within a certan distance. Dreadful as is the fate of those who perish at once by this accident, that of the survivors is worse; the strength of their muscles is gone; their stomach rejects its food; their memory and perception are impaired; they are careless and indifferent about their property, friends, and nearest relatives; they are haunted by vain terrors, and not unfrequently imagine that dead or absent persons are present and talking with them; imbecile alike in body and mind, they have no happiness but in Tipsy Island, which they never cease to visit, until sooner or later they are again drawn in by the whirlpool, and dashed to pieces upon the same rocks upon which they had so nearly perished before.

On the same side of Tipsy Island as the Horrors, but a little further out in the Drunken Sea, are the Liver Sands. These are the more dangerous, because the precise point where they begin or where they end has not been exactly ascertained. Many of the visitors to Tipsy Island, in the attempts to keep clear of the whirlpool and the Horrors, run aground upon the Liver Sands; all such become yellow in the skin, hard in the stomach, swelled in the legs, and die dropsical; effects not unlike those which are produced by twenty years residence in India.

It is remarkable that those who sail on the Drunken Sea in boats made of spirit puncheons, more frequently strike upon the Horrors, or run aground upon the Liver Sands, than those who sail in wine pipes or porter hogsheads. The superior safety of the two last mentioned classes of vessels is, however, counterbalanced by their peculiar defects; porter hogsheads in particular not only dull the wits and bloat the bodies of those who sail much in them, but are besides so heavy and unpleasant sailers, and produce so much biliousness and sea sickness, that many persons say they would rather not sail at all upon the Drunken Sea than go in them; while, on the other hand, the wine pipes are infested by a venomous insect, from which no degree of care can keep them free. This insect, which closely resembles the common bug, is generated in the lees of the wine, and like the bug, hides itself in the crevices of the wood, from whence issuing out unobserved, it bites somewhere about the great toe. The pain and swelling which follow its bite are very considerable, extending to the foot, and even to the entire limb. Those who have been frequently bitten by it, have their legs swelled so as to resemble elephant's legs, are very irritable and choleric, and subject to fits of indigestion and apoplexy, which sometimes prove fatal in the course of a few hours. The antidote to the bite of this insect consists in drinking a large quantity of water, and never again sailing upon the Drunken Sea. It is, however, seldom used, as the bite of the insect has the property of communicating along with the poison an invincible repugnance to the antidote. For this reason few who have been bitten by this insect ever recover.

For some distance all around the Horrors, and on the Liver Sands, the sea is dark and rough, the winds loud and boisterous, and the sky overcast with clouds, which not unfrequently overshadow a great part of Tipsy Island. When you pass this island, and advance further into the Drunken Sea, the water becomes still darker and rougher, the winds still more loud and boisterous, and the clouds which overspread the sky more black and lowering. Continuing to proceed, you enter into a dense fog called Fatuous Fog, which reaches from the water quite to the clouds, and shuts in the view in every direction. Immediately on entering this fog, the compass ceases to point, and whirls round incessantly with a rotatory motion upon its axis. Navigation being thus rendered impossible, it rarely happens that a boat which has entered Fatuous Fog is ever seen again. The few travellers who have ever emerged from it, having been found to be either insane or idiotic, have been received into a lunatic asylum which stands upon a little point of land running into the sea, opposite to Paphos and Point Just-Enough. Beyond Fatuous Fog, and forming the extreme limit of the Drunken Sea, there is a range of very high and inaccessible mountains, called the Mountains of No-Hope. At the foot of these Mountains the sea beats with inconceivable fury, throwing up from time to time human bones and fragments of wrecked and foundered vessels.

The boatmen believe that somewhere under the Mountains of No-Hope there is an outlet through which the waters of the Drunken Sea disgorge themselves into the the abyss of Hell.

* See Chambers' Journal, No. 406, Nov. 9th, 1836.

The Apostles.—These men, "who had been with Jesus," were lit up by him. His spirit passed into them, as the sun into the air, with light and heat. They were possessed and overmastered by the new spirit they had drunken in. They cared only for truth and the welfare of their brother men. Pleasure and ease, the endearments of quiet life and the dalliance of home, were all but a bubble to them, as they sought the priceless pearls of a divine life. Their heart's best blood—what was it to these men? They poured it joyfully as festal wine was spent at the marriage in Cana of Galilee; for, as their teacher's life had taught them to live, so had his death taught them to die to the body, that the soul might live greater and more. In their hearts burned a living consciousness of God; a living love of man. Thus they became sore men, such as the world but seldom sees. Some of them had all of woman's tenderness, and more than man's will and strength of endurance, which earth and hell cannot force from the right course. Thus they were fitted for all work. So the Damascus steel, we are told, has a temper so exquisite, it can trim a feather and clean iron bars.—*The Dial.*

"Don't be Rash."—A sneaking maxim that; a base synonyme for pusillanimity; the trimmer's watchword; a sort of golden rule that has usurped the place of that from heaven.

Thought.—The mind of a thinking man resembles the oils beneath whose surface lie many precious seeds. Every rain calls forth buds, and every beam of the sun produces flowers. Fruits fail not in their due time. The flower garden of a mind merely learned, endures but during the night. The flowers wither away under the rays of the sun, and are followed by no fruit.

Easily Frightened.—There are some men who all their lifetime reason round and round in a peck measure, and never advance a step; and a *new thought* rises before their affrighted imaginations like the spectre of the French Revolution, disturbing their midnight slumbers, and haunting their noonday walks.—*Bay State Dem.*

An Enemy.—There is no enemy like an offended conscience. It harrasses the soul, weakens the moral energies, destroys the peace of the mind, brings into captivity to sin and death. The only way to avoid such an enemy is to obey God and have a conscience void of offence towards God and towards man.

Children are never tired of asking questions, and funny ones they ask, too, sometimes—hear this little girl now—

"Mother, do horses wear shoes?"
"Yes, child."
"What kind of shoes are they, mother?"
"Iron shoes, child."
"How do they put them on, mother?"
"They nail them on with iron nails, my dear."
"Do horses take off their shoes when they go to bed, mother?"
"O, go away, child, don't you see I'm busy? What a tongue you have got!"

NOTICES.

IMPORTANT MEETINGS.

Come One, Come All.

The subscribers, having consulted with many of the t[rue] and tried friends of the Slave, in the western counties of this State, it was deemed advisable to hold *anti-slavery meetings* in the following places and at the following times.

Measures have been taken to secure some of the ablest advocates of *Human Rights* which the country affords, besides a number of volunteer speakers, who have kindly offered their aid. Friends of the slave, will you not rally?—Let the old and the young, the grave and the gay—men, women and children—*all* who claim to be human, come up to the rescue of suffering humanity! The *object* is noble, the *means* righteous, and we earnestly ask your attendance and co-operation. Will you not come?

Lockport, Niagara co.		Friday	18.
Hartland,	do.	Tuesday,	22.
Albion, Orleans co.		Thursday,	24.
Brockport, Monroe co.		Saturday,	26.
Rochester,	do.	Sunday,	27.
Henrietta,	do.	Wednesday,	30.

The meetings will commence at 1 o'clock, P. M. and be continued through the evening.

J. C. HATHAWAY,
W. C. ROGERS,
W. O. DUVALL,
LORENZO HATHAWAY,
ESEK WILBUR,
GIDEON RAMSDELL,
P. D. HATHAWAY,
PLINY SEXTON.

Farmington, Ontario co, N. Y.
Nov. 2, 1840.

SECOND APPEAL TO THE PUBLIC ON BEHALF OF THE AFRICANS TAKEN IN THE AMISTAD.

The time has now arrived when new and heavy expenses are to be incurred for the protection and deliverance of the thirty-six surviving Africans who are still in the custody of our government, awaiting the final decision of the Supreme Court of the United States. Several hundreds of dollars are still due for the expenses of instructing them daily for upward of fifteen months, and eminent counsel will be engaged as soon as the means are furnished, to conduct their defence, at Washington City, next January. If any one doubts the extremity of the peril in which these Africans are placed, let him read the Congressional document containing the correspondence between the Secretary of State and the Spanish Minister.

Shall these hapless sons of Africa, for want of farther aid, and able professional defenders, be surrendered to the Spanish Minister, who claims them "not as slaves but as assassins!" Will not the generous men and women who have already contributed to afford instruction and legal protection to these interesting strangers, again open their hands for their relief—and will not those who have not yet contributed for these noble purposes, forward their donations, which are needed more than ever at this juncture? Donors can designate in what way their benefactions shall be appropriated—whether for education or general purposes. Such sums as may be contributed for the former purpose will be handed to the committee at New Haven, Rev. L. Bacon, Rev. H. G. Ludlow, and Amos Townsend, Jr. Esq., and other donations will be appropriated by the undersigned according to their best judgment. All donations will be acknowledged in the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Reporter, and a copy sent to each donor. The disbursements will also be published. Money can be sent to Samuel D. Hastings, Esq., No. 20 Commerce street, Philadelphia; to Rev. A. A. Phelps, No 36 Washington street, Boston; or to Lewis Tappan, 122 Pearl street, and 131 Nassau street, New-York.

S. S. Jocelyn,
Joshua Leavitt,
Lewis Tappan,
} *Committee.*

SINGING SCHOOLS.

Mr. Wm. C. Webster would respectfully announce, that he will open a School for the study and practice of Sacred Music, in the Hall corner of Broadway and Houston st. (entrance to which is No 603 Broadway,) on THURSDAY EVENING, the 19th instant, at 7 o'clock.

A Juvenile Singing School, for children of both sexes, from 6 to 15 years of age, will be commenced on SATURDAY AFTERNOON, the 21st inst., at half past three o'clock, at the same place. The Pestalozzian system is made the basis of instruction in these schools.

Terms to the above schools—the adult, for gentlemen, $3; for ladies, $2 per course of 18 lessons. The Juvenile School, $2 per scholar for 24 lessons.

Tickets of admission to the above schools may be obtained at the Book stores of Gould, Newman & Saxton, corner of Nassau and Fulton streets, John P. Haven, Broadway, and of Mr. W. at his Hall, on the evenings and afternoons of school.

Refer to Rev. J. O. CHOULES, 502 Broome st.
Rev. LA ROY SUNDERLAND, Editor of the Watchman.
L. EAMES, Esq., 88 Hicks st. Brooklyn, N. Y.
N. SOUTHARD, Editor Youth's Cabinet.
G. H. ANDREWS, Courier & Enq. Office.

FRIENDS' INTELLIGENCER.

For sale by Isaac T. Hopper, 143 Nassau Street.

The FRIENDS' INTELLIGENCER, &c., containing 769 pages large octavo—price $1 50. It contains much interesting original and selected matter, well worth the attention of the members of the Society of Friends, as well as the public generally.

Bound up in the volume will be found, "Brief Remarks on some of the charges recently made against the early writers of the Society of Friends, by George Harrison, New Castle, England." The following short extract will shew, in some measure, the character of the work, viz:

"The working of this subtil spirit, which has got abroad,—this old accuser of the brethren, has been very insidious; it has been at work for many years, but durst not avow its real object and character. It pretended it was attacking Hicksism, but it was easy to see, long ago, that genuine Quakerism was meant. It is now throwing off the mask, and shewing itself in its true colors."

"The Destruction of Jerusalem, an absolute and irresistible proof of the Divine origin of Christianity; including a Narrative of the calamities which befel the Jews, so far as they tend to verify our Lord's predictions relative to that event: with a description of the City and Temple." This work is deeply interesting to Christians of all denominations.

"The history of the life of Thomas Ellwood, or an account of his birth, education, &c, with divers observations on his life and manners when a youth; and how he came to be convinced of the truth; with his many sufferings and services for the same. Also, several other remarkable passages and occurrences. Written by his own hand. To which is added, a supplement." by J. W.

It can hardly be necessary to inform any member of the Society of Friends of the merits of this work. It has gone through four editions, and is among the most interesting of Friends' journals.

This latter work can be had separately—price 50 cents.

Right and Wrong in the Anti-Slavery Societies.

——by the soul
Only, the nations shall be great and free!
Wordsworth.

The Seventh Annual Report of the Boston Female Anti-Slavery Society, presented October 14, 1840. For sale at the anti-slavery office, 143 Nassau st. Price, 12½ cents single.

This work ought to be in the hands of every abolitionist.

The following selection from it is the purest gold, and beautifully wrought out:

"The anti-slavery societies have not yet done their work. When, in the heat of political excitement, amid which the favorers of the cause, a few years hence, will be engaged; when, in the conflict of a northern and southern party, yet to spring out of this question, *compensation—partial emancipation—intermediate arrangements—delay*, become the rallying words of the opposition—then let the slave rejoice if the anti-slavery societies exist, to urge up to the mark a partially regenerated people, who, though *favorers* of the cause of freedom, will not deserve to be called its friends; for they will need constant and persevering rebuke, entreaty, warning, to prevent their making shipwreck of the cause. Not by numbers, but by laborious and energetic fidelity, will the work be wrought out. 'Not by might nor by power, but by *my Spirit*, saith the Lord of hosts!'

Nov. 19, 1840.

Just Published,

"The Envoy, From Free hearts to the Free."

A COLLECTION of original pieces in poetry and prose, published by the Pawtucket Juvenile Emancipation Society, for the benefit of its funds.

This little volume is confidently recommended to the patronage of the public, as it is believed that it will be found to possess merit independent of the object which has called it forth. Many writers have contributed to the pages of the annual, presenting thereby a pleasing variety in style and sentiment; yet agreeing in these grand and fundamental points, the universal brotherhood of *man*, and the abolition of *all* slavery.

For sale at 143 Nassau street—25 Cornhill, Boston—the Anti-Slavery Office, Providence, and at J. M'Intyre's, Pawtucket, R. I. Price 42 cts.

New York, November 19, 1840.

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☞ Price $30 per 1000. 6 cents single. To be had at all the Depositories.

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